

"ASPECTS OF MALAYSIAN ENGLISH SYNTAX"

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a description of some of the basic elements in the syntax of meso-lectal Malaysian English (M.E.), that are different from that of Standard British English (S.B.E. or B.E.). What used to be considered as errors or learner's strategies are not necessarily so and a detailed examination of such elements shows that there is a systematic and rigid patterning in the syntax as such. After a description of the general sociolinguistic setting and the emergence of the concept of institutionalized varieties of English, vis-a-vis the non-native varieties, the first chapter briefly summarises some phonological as well as lexical features of M.E. The second chapter then discusses some of the Noun Phrase elements such as the pluralisation of mass nouns (Individuation), article ellipsis and pronominal concord. The third chapter goes into the Verb Phrase features such as temporal distance (Remoteness Distinctions in Tense), the simplified modal system and the use of stative verbs in the progressive (Stativity and Progressivity). Clause structure elements are discussed in Chapter four, where it will be seen that the interrogative clauses (the wh-interrogative, yes-no interrogative and the alternative interrogative) have their differences in terms of word-order (no subject-operator inversion) and different tag elements. Similar to interrogative clausal features is one type of declarative

clausal element where for the initially negated and the adverbially fronted declaratives, there is no subject-operator inversion in M.E. The last element described in this chapter is copula ellipsis, followed by a summary of some of the other syntactic features in M.E. that need to be further researched on (such as adverbial positioning, ellipsis of the expletives it/there, substitution of such expletives with got, and grammatical particles such as lah, man, what and one). The concluding fifth chapter summarises the main points of the core chapters (2, 3, 4) and also addresses some of the relevant applied linguistic and socio-linguistic concerns.

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CHAPTER I - M.E. (GENERAL)

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(i) GEOGRAPHICO-HISTORICAL SETTING

a. Geographical Parameters

The nation Malaysia comprises two entities - West Malaysia (Peninsular Malaysia) and East Malaysia, separated from each other by the vast expanse of the South China Sea. West Malaysia is what was originally known as Malaya (the Federation of Malaya) contained in the eleven states situated in the Peninsula of Malaya. This peninsula is the land mass which continues south of Thailand, with Singapore at its southern-most tip (separated by the Straits of Johore) and Sumatra towards its western coast (separated by the Straits of Malacca). The eastern coast of West Malaysia is exposed to the South China Sea.

East Malaysia comprises two states - Sabah and Sarawak which are states on the land mass of the large island formerly known as Borneo - to the east of West Malaysia. This island of Borneo is now known by its four separate independent entities, with Brunei Darussalam and Kalimantan totally independent of each other, whilst Sabah and Sarawak are the constituent states of East Malaysia.

West Malaysia is further subdivided into eleven states namely Perlis, Kedah, Penang, Perak, Pahang, Kelantan, Trengganu, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Malacca and

Johore. The capital city of Malaysia is Kuala Lumpur which is situated in West Malaysia (in the state of Selangor). The area surrounding this city (within a 5 mile radius) is termed "Federal Territory". The total population of Malaysia is about 14 million with about 11 million people in West Malaysia and 3 million people in East Malaysia.

b. Political and Constitutional Status

There are altogether 13 states in Malaysia (11 in West Malaysia and 2 in East Malaysia). Each of these 13 states has its own capital city and state government. As an entity, the nation is a parliamentary democracy with a constitutional monarch. This monarch is elected on a rotation basis by the heads of the 13 component states from amongst them (the Council of Rulers).

The government is a Federal government with a Cabinet of Ministers chosen by the Constitutional Monarch - after these Ministers have been elected by the people to the Houses of Parliament. The Federal Government's powers are to an extent decentralised to the State Governments, by way of the division of specified departments. There are therefore certain spheres of administration vested in the Central Government, with the rest allocated to State

Governments, whilst there is also a concurrent list of powers shared between the Federal and State governments.

The present entity of Malaysia came into existence in 1963 when the original Federation of Malaya (with the 11 states) was joined by the two other states of Sabah and Sarawak as well as by Singapore (making the total number of states in Malaysia at that time to be 14). However, Singapore withdrew from this alliance in 1965 and has remained independent since, thereby leaving the total number of states in Malaysia at 13.

West Malaysia (originally the Federation of Malaya) obtained its independence from the British administration in 1957. Prior to 1957, it had undergone several phases of colonisation. But before going into details of this feature in the history of the country, it is imperative that the early history of early Malaya is considered.

c. Early History of Malaya

The earliest known records of settlement in the peninsula of Malaysia date back to the ninth century of the Christian Era when there were Malay settlers who came from

the nearby Sumatran, Javanese and Malayo-Polynesian islands. Most of these settlers were riverine and coastal traders, fishermen and farmers who gradually grouped themselves into kingdoms.

Gradually there were many attempts at establishing empires not only in the Malay peninsula but also on the nearby Indonesian islands - some of these kingdoms being Aceh and the Majapahit empires. Among the most noteworthy of these kingdoms was the Srivijaya empire which had its focal points in Kedah (to the north of the peninsula) and Palembang (in Sumatra i.e. an Indonesian peninsula close to the Western coast of the Malay peninsula).

Along with these riverine settlers, there were the aboriginal tribes of Malays who populated the interiors of the peninsula - in hill-tribes as well as land-tribes.

Besides these Malay peoples, other ethnic groups gradually settled in the country as a result of the favourable position the Malay peninsula enjoyed by way of its geographical location. The Western coast of the peninsula particularly was in an advantageous situation as

it faced a channel that had to be passed by trading vessels traversing from India and Europe to China (aided by the South-West monsoons) and from China sailing to India and Europe (with the aid of the North-East monsoons). This Western coast of the peninsula was sheltered from these monsoons since it faced the Eastern Sumatran coast. As such, ships traversing the seas found it convenient and safe to stop at the various points of the Western coast of peninsular Malaysia. In the process, there grew a fast-flourishing maritime trade between vessels that stopped at these riverine settlements. This gradually led to trade not only amongst these vessels but also between these vessels and the local Malay people from the peninsula itself. Products like spices, rattan, gold, camphor and tin were sold by the local traders to these foreign vessels. In time to come some of these foreign merchants, most of whom were Chinese, Indians or Arabic, settled alongside their Malay counterparts. Soon there grew colonies of different ethnic groups by way of traders. These ethnically diverse merchant groups were relatively small and continued living as such in a somewhat transitory manner for some centuries.

This being the case, trade flourished and soon the Malay peninsula became an attraction for European traders as well. These groups eventually attempted colonising the Malay peninsula - the first attempt being the Portuguese hold on Malacca in 1511, after which the Dutch took over in 1641.

d. Colonial History

British intervention in the Malay peninsula first took place in 1786 when the island of Penang in the north-western coast of Malaya was taken over by Francis Light of the English East India Company. The other states of Singapore and Malacca were taken over in 1819 and 1824 respectively.

With the establishment of British settlements in the Malay peninsula came an additional factor of large-scale immigration and transportation of labour from China and India respectively. The East India Company brought in and accepted many Indians and Chinese for indentured labour particularly in the rubber estates and tin-mines, the products of which were and are till to-day the largest export goods of the country.

The British colonisation of the peninsula was vested in various stages. The first group of states to be colonised were the Straits Settlements (Penang, Singapore and Malacca), followed by the Malay States (Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan) - later known as the Federated Malay States and finally the Unfederated Malay States (Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johore). This last group never really came under direct or complete British rule but had British influence of an advisory nature only.

Throughout the period of British intervention in the Malay peninsula, there was the existence and further influx of the various ethnic groups into the country. These were mostly

- i. traders, merchants - from China, India Arabia and Europe.
- ii. labourers - from China and India, especially to work in the railways, tin-mines and rubber-estates respectively.
- iii. clerks, government officials - from India, Ceylon and England.
- iv. teachers, professionals - from India, Ceylon and England.
- v. missionaries - from India, Ceylon and England.

Alongside these various ethnic groups, the local Malay people also had their influence in the socio-cultural and linguistic diversity of the day - via the local aristocracy, merchants, religious philosophers as well as farmers and fishermen.

In time to come, the various states of the Malay peninsula, under their local Sultans or respective Residents and Advisers, came to form a Union called the Malayan Union (in 1946) which was still very much under the tutelage of the British colonial office. This eventually led to the various attempts by the local rulers to rule their own states. After a series of talks and commissions, the various states of Malaya finally achieved a unified Federation of Malaya in 1948.

The final step however was the achievement of Independence when the British Colonial Administration eventually handed over the Federation of Malaya to its local rulers in 1957. Thus from 1957 onwards Malaya - consisting of these constituent states was governed under a democratic system with the constitutional head elected from amongst the Council of Rulers whilst each of the states themselves was headed by the respective rulers (called Sultans).

In 1963, this Federation of Malaya formed an alliance with Sabah and Sarawak as well as Singapore. Singapore, however, opted out of this alliance in 1965. This new nation Malaysia now remains intact with its 13 constituent states.

e. Educational Development

i. Before 1957

During the entire period of British colonisation, an educational system catering to the needs of the major ethnic groups was established. Initially there were

- i. Malay medium schools for the Malay population
- ii. Chinese medium schools for the Chinese population
- and iii. Tamil medium schools for the Indian population.

These were originally only primary level schools. Slowly, however, the Chinese schools, aided by funds by rich tin-mine owners and businessmen extended their levels of education to the secondary level as well. Malay and Tamil education were only available up to primary level. The colonial administration soon realised that this situation was not going to prove progressive as the local aristocracy and sons of this aristocracy were not fluent enough in English nor were they conversant in basic Arithmetic or

History and Geography. The Malay schools were mostly secular whilst the Arabic schools to which the Malays were sent, were of a religious nature, teaching the Koranic values and tenets of life. In dealings with the local aristocracy and in matters of the state, law and commerce, the colonial administration found that having translators and interpreters was not very useful, - in fact this proved to be more of an impediment than anything else. Thus soon (by 1872) the Straits Settlements had an Education Department to see to the establishment of English schools at the elementary and later the secondary levels.

Alongside the colonial government's attempt at providing English education, there was another avenue of education in English via the missionary movement. Methodist, Anglican and Catholic missionaries were allowed into the country and this made education in English accessible especially to the Chinese and Indians. Although these missionary schools exercised a great amount of discretion and religious tolerance towards all the other religions practised at that time, initially there was a certain degree of reluctance and apprehension towards such schools by the Malay population (which was mainly Islamic in religion). This inhibiting factor coupled with the

British policy of preserving and protecting the Islamic religion resulted in the confining of such English schools predominantly to the Chinese and Indian population. Coupled with this was the fact that most of such English schools were in towns--thereby being out of reach of most Malays.

This cleavage in the education system, however, did not persist for long. After a subsequent period, by the early 1900's, the Malays themselves began to demand English education. A knowledge of English, coupled with an adequate basic knowledge of the mother-tongue was an advantage to all, regardless of race. Furthermore, this would mean social prestige and mobility as well as greater viability in the employment and commercial sectors. This zeal for English education by the Malays thus saw the founding of such schools and colleges as the Malay College of Kuala Kangsar (1905) and the Sultan Idris Training College (1922). Besides these attempts at producing the bilingual Malay elite, the Education Department established more schools both for non-Malays and Malays alike.

Among the earliest schools were the Penang Free School (1823), Malacca Free School (1826), St. Xaviers' Institution (Penang) (1852), the King Edward VII School

(Taiping) (1883), the Victoria Institution (Selangor) (1893), Anglo-Chinese School (Klang) (1893), the Methodist Boy's School (Kuala Lumpur) (1897) and the St. John's Institution (Kuala Lumpur) (1904). Most of these schools were funded either by the Government, the Christian missionary organizations (like the Methodist mission and the de La Salle Brothers) and in some cases, by local private individuals such as rich businessmen and philanthropists like Loke Yew, Thamboosamy Pillai and Yap Kwan Seng.

Thus alongside the vernacular schools that were already established, English-medium schools up to the secondary level were developed. Later, tertiary education in the English-medium was advanced by way of The Raffles Institution and the University of Singapore and Malaya. The introduction of the external examination system (the Junior Cambridge and Senior Cambridge Examinations) in liaison with the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate based in London soon put the impetus on the English language even further. Thus there were many aspirants who were eventually at least bilinguals - proficient in their vernacular tongue and English.

Meanwhile secondary education in the Chinese

vernacular schools progressed, these schools mainly funded by private individuals (like tin-magnates and businessmen). The Malay and Tamil medium schools however did not proceed past the primary level so that those Malays and Indians who wanted to be educated further, had to go to the English schools. The concept of trilingualism therefore was not unusual. Many of the educated people had dealings with others from the other ethnic groups as well as with the not so well educated man in the street. Thus it was not unusual to see that among the 3 basic ethnic groups there was a fair amount of verbal communication in more than just one language. For example, there could be an educated Chinese who could speak Chinese (specifically one of the main dialects of the Chinese language group eg. Cantonese, Hokkien, Hakka etc.) to his wife and family at home; Mandarin to a fellow Chinese businessman at work (this Chinese being one who speaks a different dialect); English to an Administrative officer in the colonial office and either English or Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) to his Tamil colleague, as well as Malay (the "patois" Malay - known as 'bazaar' Malay or 'bahasa pasar') to a Malay or Indian vendor on the street. Likewise an Indian who had managed to secure education in the English medium would also be linguistically well-equipped, speaking any one of the major

Indian languages of the day (Tamil, Telugu, etc.) at home, whilst speaking in English and Malay to his equally educated friends and workmates, and Malay (again the 'patois' Malay) to the man on the street. The Malays would inevitably be seen as basically bilingual having Malay and English as their main languages - except in the case of the occasional Malay pupil who had the rare desire to be enrolled in a Chinese-medium or Tamil-medium school.

Thus during the entire colonial period, education in the peninsula took on an imbalanced picture - with the English medium schools as the main source of complete education - complete in the sense that it went up to tertiary level. The schools in the Malay and Tamil mediums of instruction stopped at primary education, whilst the Chinese vernacular schools (using Mandarin or Kuo-Yu as medium) went up to secondary and later even tertiary education at the Nanyang University at Singapore (funded by private enterprise).

As mentioned earlier, the establishment and advancement of the English medium schools brought along an additional factor of influence through language - the import of teachers, missionaries, professionals, adminis-

trative and education officers from Britain. There was the need to equip the departments and schools with the trained personnel to give further training and advice to the local people. Thereby the seeds of the English language were sown to the local populace who were equally enthusiastic and turned out to be competent in this new language as well.

After the Malayan Union of 1946 and the Federation of Malaya in 1948, there grew a gradual consciousness within the administering government that it was imperative to unify the three ethnic groups as a common Malayan nation. Thus the separate vernacular schools were studied closely and recommendations made for the abolition of vernacular schools. These recommendations were in the form of such Committees and Reports as the Barnes Report (1950) and the Fen-Wu Report (1951) advocating a national or at least a national 'type' system of education. The Education Ordinance of 1952 finally encoded the concept of 'national' schools with English and Malay as the media of instruction where Chinese or Tamil were available as a third language. The actual implementation of these recommendations took a bit of time however. In the meanwhile, the Razak Report of 1956 (prior to Independence in 1957) was adopted by the legislative council. It recommended that Malay and English

were to be compulsory subjects in all schools and Tamil and Chinese be offered as "pupil's own languages".

This was the setting of educational development up to the end of the colonial era in the Malay peninsula. The four languages in circulation were English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil.

ii. After 1957

With the achievement of Independence in 1957, a unified national system of education was initiated. The Razak Committee, headed by the then Education Minister Datuk Abdul Razak bin Hussein, aimed at establishing a 'national' system of education unifying in the process, the composite ethnic groups of the country - with Malay eventually emerging as the national language. The language was made compulsory alongside English. Thus a pass in the government exam in both English and Malay was a pre-requisite in all school examinations. Soon, therefore, although there were no Malay secondary schools, Malay was included in the secondary school curriculum of the English-medium schools so that the pupil who went into any of these schools came out of it either as a bilingual or a trilingual. The Tamil-medium, Chinese-medium and

English-medium primary schools were termed 'national-type' schools whilst the Malay-medium primary school was termed 'national' school.

The next attempt at educational reform took place in the form of the Rahman Talib Report (recommended by the Committee headed by the then Education Minister). The Report (in 1960) reiterated the need for further emphasis on Malay as the medium of instruction so that in 1962, the Federation of Malaya Certificate Examination was set in Malay, for the first time. In the meantime, the English language was still being used as a medium of instruction in the 'national-type' schools. By 1965, more and more schools in the English-medium adopted Malay as compulsory second language. With the diverse racial composition of the country and with the increased fervour of nationalism, such a system was soon seen to be not conducive enough towards fostering a 'national' frame of mind. In an effort to foster a nationalistic ideology and in attempting to forge a more unified rather than a diverse population, the government made concerted efforts in approaching this goal via the education system viz the National Education Policy.

This Policy was practically implemented by the

gradual phasing out of the 'national type' schools making them into 'national' schools. Thus the schools that were originally in the English, Chinese and Tamil media of instruction, were now to use the Malay medium of instruction.

iii. After 1967

In the meantime, in 1969, the local nomenclature for the Malay language was appropriately changed from that of 'Bahasa Melayu' (Malay), to 'Bahasa Malaysia' - mirroring a more nationalistic image (with the formation of Malaysia in 1963). The term 'Bahasa Melayu' meaning 'the Malay language' would have implied that the language was meant only for the Malays whereas 'Bahasa Malaysia' meaning the 'Malaysian language' had a wider appeal, reaching out to the non-Malay citizens as well.

By 1970, the primary schools were converted to the Malay medium of instruction with English as a compulsory second language. By 1982, the secondary schools were completely in the Malay medium, whilst at tertiary level, in 1983, the first batch of students having undergone their entire schooling system in Malay, entered the local universities where most subjects are now taught in Bahasa

Malaysia - except for 'designated' (Ungku Aziz, 1970) courses such as those in the Islamic Studies Department, Indian and Chinese language courses and the English Literature course.

(ii) SOCIOLINGU¹STIC PROFILE
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- a. A Plural Society
- b. Languages in Currency
- c. Official Status and Role of Languages

(ii) SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE

a. A Plural Society

In considering the sociolinguistic profile of Malaysia it is imperative that one studies the ethnic diversity so characteristic of this nation. The historical background of this nation results in the plural society that is typically found in any country which has passed through several phases and aspects of conquest or colonisation and settlement. Thus we have the indigenous Malay speakers (Austronesian speakers) with their Austroasiatic counterparts (the aboriginal tribes) and the settler populace - by way of the Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Eurasians.

The Austronesian speakers are the Malays in West Malaysia (with Bahasa Malaysia as their language) whilst the Kadazans of Sabah and the Dayaks of Sarawak are the major Malay groups in East Malaysia (with Kadazan and Iban as their languages respectively). The Austroasiatic speakers are the aborigines in West Malaysia (the majority of whom are the Negritos). There are many smaller groups of speakers speaking among themselves a host of languages of the Austroasiatic group. The language most commonly spoken

among these groups is Temiar. However, all the languages spoken amongst these people have now been categorically classified as 'aslian' - from the term 'asli' (aborigine) originally assigned to them. For purposes of conciseness, the umbrella term 'Malays' would be used to include both the Austronesian and Austroasiatic speakers who form altogether about 50% of the total population of Malaysia.

The settler population of Malaysia is mainly found in the Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Eurasians, with a sprinkling of Thais and Europeans. Of these, the Chinese and the Indians are the majority groups who are represented constitutionally on a pro-rata basis.

The Chinese form the second biggest portion of the population. They constitute about 35% of the total population of Malaysia. Just as the Malays have a kaleidoscope of minority racial groups with their equally diverse language groups, the Chinese also have a variety of dialectal groups. The main dialectal groups are the Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew and Hainanese peoples. The official Chinese language is Mandarin (also known as Kuo-Yu), which is used for all official purposes and in the media.

The third largest group in the composite population of Malaysia is the Indian community. The Indians form about 10% of the Malaysian population and are just as heterogenous as their Malay and Chinese counterparts. The majority of the Indians are Tamil-speaking followed by the Malayalis, Telugus, Punjabis, Bengalis, Gujeratis and Singhalese.

The minority groups like the Thais, Eurasians (a blend of Europeans and Asians) and Arabs are so insignificant in number that they are all designated under the term "others" in the Constitution, this proportion being about 5% only. Each of these groups speaks its own language except in the case of the Eurasians and those who inter-married - the language among these people being mainly either English or Malay.

b. Languages in Currency

It is evident therefore, that the most significant languages in circulation in Malaysia are Malay (Bahasa Malaysia), Chinese (Mandarin) and Tamil in West Malaysia. In East Malaysia, Kadazan and Iban are the predominant languages. The various permutations and combinations in which these languages operate are unpredictable depending

on such important criteria as degree of officialdom, register and style. In addition to this variegation of languages, English is also used in its various forms - official, unofficial and sometimes 'patois' form (what is commonly termed as 'broken English' among Malaysians).

Among the Malays, there is much variation especially with the Austronesian Malay community in West Malaysia. It can be correctly termed a diglossic speech community, where there is a marked range of varieties from

- i. royal to non-royal (members of the royal family - paramount and of each state as compared to ordinary people)
- ii. standard to non-standard

Thus a cross-combination of both these factors would produce four main sociolinguistic variables like

- i. standard royal variety
- ii. non-standard royal variety
- iii. standard non-royal variety
- iv. non-standard non-royal variety (Asmah, 1982)

From among these four varieties, the third variety - the standard non-royal variety - is the variety used in officialdom and the mass-media throughout the nation. Malay is now known as Bahasa Malaysia (the national language). The Malays normally use Bahasa Malaysia in intragroup communication although there are the educated elite Malays who sometimes tend to use a substantial amount of English in daily discourse. In intergroup communication, if officialdom warrants the use of Bahasa Malaysia, this is the language used, although English is used quite freely as well.

The majority of the Chinese are Hokkien speaking, such a factor being determined by geographical location, socio-economic status, occupational placement and education. In certain parts of West Malaysia for instance, in Penang, there is a majority of Hokkien speakers, whereas in Kuala Lumpur the majority are Cantonese-speaking. This is really determined by the trades conducted by these people viz. the tin-mining tycoons and landed proprietors seem to be largely Hokkiens and Hakkas whilst the restaurant-owners and shop-keepers are predominantly Hainanese or Cantonese. The picture varies quite notably and is not really predictable. Mandarin is the official

language used in the mass-media and education viz. the Chinese Studies Department, in the University of Malaya and for the 'Pupils Own Language' classes in schools all of which are now 'national' schools. For intragroup communication (with Chinese of another dialect) either Mandarin or English is used. The Chinese, however, use Bahasa Malaysia or English for intergroup communication. The educated Chinese normally prefer to use English with their non-Chinese friends unless it is expressly required that they use Bahasa Malaysia. There are some Chinese who also tend to use a considerable amount of English at home with their families. The less educated or uneducated Chinese, however, use Bahasa Malaysia in intergroup communication - this version of Bahasa Malaysia very often dwindling to a kind of 'patois' or 'bazaar' Malay.

The majority of the Indians, as mentioned earlier, are a Tamil-speaking community. The other Indians speak Telegu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujerati, Urdu and Singahalese. Intragroup communication (subgroup) among the Indians themselves can be either in the form of Bahasa Malaysia or English. An educated Punjabi-speaking Indian may choose to speak either English or Bahasa Malaysia to his Tamil or Telegu-speaking friend, although it is not

rare to find a Punjabi-speaking Indian who is also able to speak in Tamil to his Tamil-speaking friend. Having been long established groups in the country, (sometimes for over three to four generations) the minority groups tend to acquire proficiency in the language of the majority group (viz. the Tamil-speaking group). As for intergroup communication with their non-Indian counterparts, the Indians can be said to use both Bahasa Malaysia and English with considerable ease and preference - whether in official or unofficial circumstances. The less educated or uneducated Indian would normally prefer to use Bahasa Malaysia when talking with his non-Indian friend, although as in the case of the Chinese, the Bahasa Malaysia used on the street is 'bazaar' Malay.

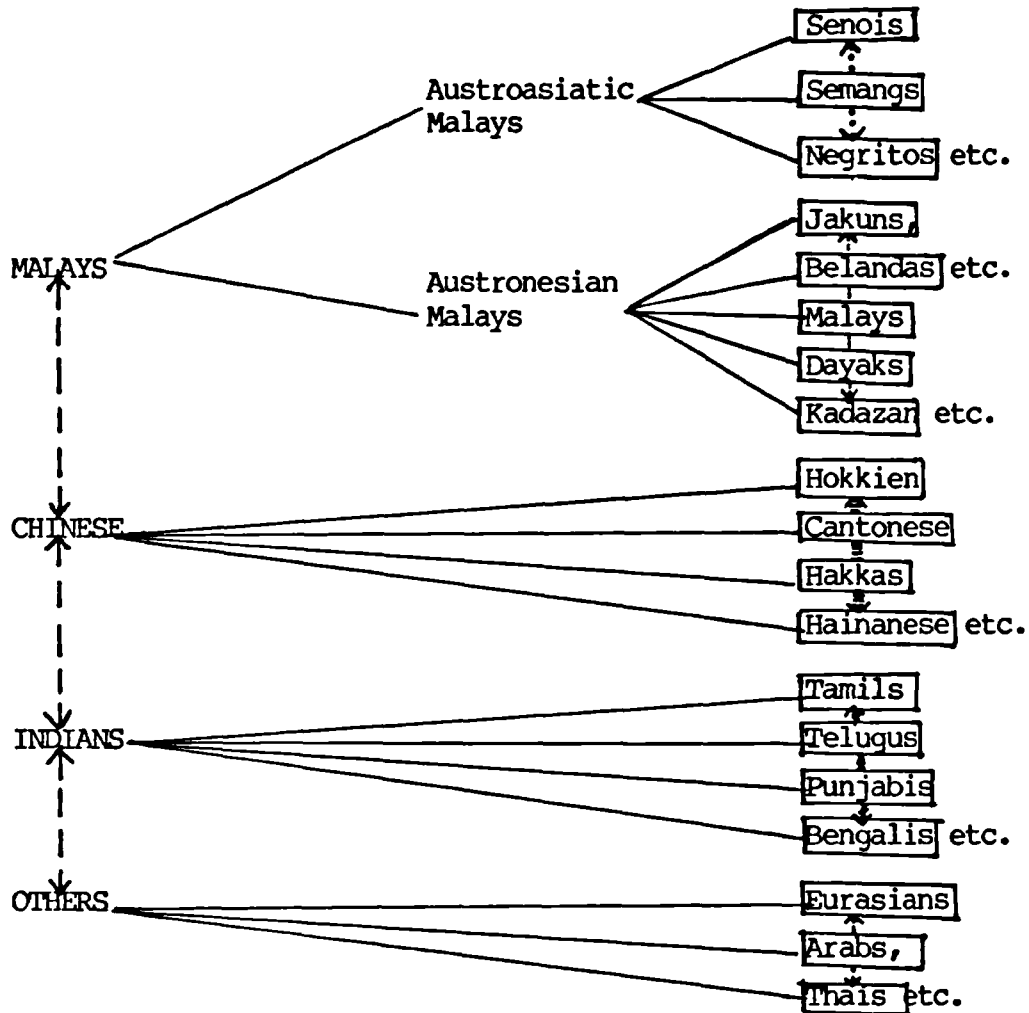
In East Malaysia, (Sabah and Sarawak) the normal lingua franca among the Austronesian speakers is Bahasa Malaysia, although within each of the groups (constituent group communication) - communication is in their own language. There is a vast range of languages spoken by the Malays of East Malaysia, the most noteworthy ones being Kadazan, Bajau, and Illanun in Sabah with Iban and Bidayuh in Sarawak.

Verbal communication among Malaysians as a whole therefore, can be seen in three levels:

- i. constituent group communication (e.g. Iban among the Ibans, Tamil among the Tamils, etc)
- ii. intra ethnic communication (e.g. Malay between a Dayak and a Malay; Mandarin between a Hokkien and a Cantonese)
- iii. inter ethnic communication (e.g. English/Malay between a Chinese and a Malay)

Constituent group communication describes the speech patterns within a specific subgroup among members of their own speech community. Intraethnic communication refers to the speech patterns of a specific subgroup with another subgroup within the major group category, whilst interethnic communication describes the verbal patterns of a major group with another major group. This levelling can be diagrammatically represented thus:

LEVELS OF VERBAL COMMUNICATION AMONG MALAYSIANS



KEY

Constituent group communication (i)

Intraethnic communication (ii)

◀.....▶ Temiar

◀-----▶ Bahasa Malaysia (or English)

◀|||||▶ Mandarin (or English)

◀xxxxxx▶ Tamil (or English or Bahasa Malaysia)

Interethnic Communication (iii)

◀-----▶ English or Bahasa Malaysia

c. Official Status and Role of Languages

As has been described earlier, the role of education has been significant in determining the importance of the various languages of the nation. With the National Education Policy as well as the New Economic Policy (of equal rights and opportunities for all the constituent ethnic groups) there has emerged an attempt to unify the various races of the nation by an official and national language. The official national language - that used as the medium of instruction in education at all levels and that used in oral and written communication in the various channels of officialdom - is Bahasa Malaysia. Previous to 1967, both English and Bahasa Malaysia were official languages. But since 1967, English has been accorded the status of a "strong second language," (Cabinet Committee Report, 1979) whilst Bahasa Malaysia remains the official national language.

The languages accorded 'vernacular' status are the Chinese language (Mandarin) and Tamil, with Iban in Sarawak and Kadazan in Sabah. These languages represent the majority languages of the major ethnic groups (Chinese, Indians, Dayaks and Kadazans). Thus Mandarin is used as an overall representative language of the Chinese via the

media, for religion and for purposes of vernacular education in national schools where provision is made for pupils to have instruction in their "own languages" - if there is a substantial enough number of pupils requesting such instruction (these are termed "pupils' own languages" - P.O.L.).

The situation is similar where the Indians are concerned. The official representative language of this subgroup is Tamil. Thus the media mostly caters for Indians in this language - via films, radio broadcasts via a special network, certain allotted television programmes and the dailies. In matters of religion too, Tamil is the predominant and official language used - both in the temples of the Hindus (where some of the verses are, however, in Sanskrit) and the churches of the Indian Christians. There are, however, small rather insignificant deviations from this norm in the other Hindu temples (Punjabi or Bengali Hindu temples) using Punjabi/Urdu and Bengali/Gujerati respectively, and Malayali Christian churches (termed 'Syrian Christian' or 'Orthodox Christian') using Malayalam as their language of worship. There are some Indians who are Muslim by religion and these are almost entirely Malay in their way of life. Thus Malay

is their language both in the official and unofficial domains of life.

The status of English as a "strong second language" means that such instances of meetings, conferences and any such liaison with an international audience would warrant the use of English as the official language. Furthermore, a developing nation or any nation for that matter, needs to have constant contact and communication with the international scene, whilst having transactions in all related fields viz. commerce, science, technology, education and such avenues of progress. It is imperative therefore, that a good command of English is maintained throughout the nation. The Government, therefore, deems it important to use English as a language of international communication whilst maintaining Bahasa Malaysia as the official language within the country. This tolerant and rational policy is further extended to the other major languages as well, in that there are provisions in the media for both Bahasa Malaysia and English as well as Chinese and Tamil - on a prorata basis.

In the field of education, as outlined earlier, the official medium of instruction is now Bahasa Malaysia at all

levels - primary, secondary and tertiary, whilst English is used as second language in all schools. In the universities, some courses are given in English, whilst the other "designated" (Ungku Aziz, 1970) courses are given in their respective languages.

With the various official statuses accorded to the four basic languages in the country (Bahasa Malaysia, English, Chinese-Mandarin and Tamil) along with the diverse range of languages in actual currency amongst the people of Malaysia, it is no small wonder then that the average Malaysian is at least a bilingual - regardless of educational or socio-economic background. On the other hand, it is not unusual to find the trilingual or multilingual Malaysian either.

(iii) THE NEW ENGLISHES

- a. The International Currency of English
- b. Institutionalization of English
- c. Indigenization of English

(iii) THE 'NEW ENGLISHES'

a. The International Currency of English

There have been many attempts, in the past, to categorically establish a universal language - one that has no particular affinities to or roots in any one particular nation or ethnic group - so that it is neutral and of universal acceptability. Such are languages like Esperanto and Novial. Such deliberate attempts, however, have not sent these languages to all quarters of the globe and there is no doubt that where these artificial languages have fallen short of expectations, English has emerged with such effusiveness.

The factors most catalytic to the internationalization of English are varied. But before considering the various factors, it would be useful to realize the various statuses that English has, in the many countries that use it. It is of "first language" status in countries like Great Britain, America, Australia and New Zealand, where it is used in its native-speaker context. It is used in its non-native linguistic ecology (very often a multilingual one at that) in countries that were either (a) former colonies of Britain and America and are now

members of the New Commonwealth of Nations or are independent nations - viz. countries like India, Africa, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong. (English is a second language here). (b) countries that were not under former colonial rule but which have adopted English as a foreign language in restricted domains for reasons which will be discussed in due course. Such are countries like Germany, Belgium, Poland, Russia, China, Japan and Egypt.

The original areas of English usage are the "native" grounds where English is the hearth language. Within each of these contexts, there are the many dialectal varieties like Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Cockney, Midlands, Detroit, Virginia and Black English - although an overall norm exists. One can, therefore, speak of an official "standard" dialect in each of these countries viz. Standard British English (S.B.E.) and General American English. (In the core chapters of the thesis, Standard British English (S.B.E.) - is used as a comparison with Malaysian English - M.E.).

The more relevant contexts of internationalization are the areas where English has gained acceptability in non-native environments. In most of these countries the

factors contributing to the use of English as a second language of communication can be traced to historical and sociological reasons as well as to more recent functional reasons. Historical and sociological reasons are those reasons contributing particularly to English in second language contexts - in countries like India, Africa and Malaysia. English was the language of the colonial rulers of each of these countries. It, therefore, left an indelible impression on the linguistic forehead of the local populace, which was, more often than not, linguistically heterogenous. Thus although there was a local lingua franca (for example Malay i.e. Bahasa Malaysia in Malaysia, Swahili in East Africa, Hindi in India), the need arose for the use of English initially for intergroup communication (first between the administration and the local aristocracy and later within various local subgroups themselves) and subsequently for international communication. The degree and extent to which English was adopted as an official language among these multilingual countries varied. But in most of these situations, the channels of dissemination were mainly education and the administration (trade too was another subsequent avenue). Thus the level of communication was of a very high standard. Gradually, however, with the fervour of nationalism in each of these

countries, and with the consequent attainment of Independence, the status of English became somewhat secondary - although English was not dispensed with altogether. Thus we have various 'status' terms associated with English in each of these countries - terms such as "link", "associate official", "strong second", "additional", "bridge" and "co-ordinate" language. The use of such terms in contexts where otherwise only the national language would have held sway shows how massive an impact and how significant a role English has in the lives of each of these countries. It is in these contexts that one can speak of the "institutionalization" of English. (This phenomenon will be discussed in detail later).

The other non-native context into which English has permeated is in countries where it is ^a foreign language - where it is a functional variety. The aims of learning and maintaining contact with the English language in such countries are predominantly instrumental. Kachru (1983) uses the term "performance" variety for such English use. Some such countries are Japan, Thailand, China, Russia, Egypt and Germany. With the establishment of their own governments and aspirations, these countries' international links are forged further. Thus trade and

commercial transactions with foreign or multinational corporations in the form of monetary and commodity markets, the export-import trade and the various facets of a world economy are conducted via the international link language - English.

International travel and transportation therefore, need to have a universal communicating language as well. Thus in the various avenues of air, sea and land traffic, English emerges as the predominant language. Stretching this a little further, there are the various international and supranational agencies like the United Nations Organization (and all its affiliated bodies), the International Monetary Fund, The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, SEAMEO (South East Asian Ministers of Education Organization), ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) to name a few, - that need to recruit staff for service within an international framework - be it for politico-social reasons or otherwise. It is imperative therefore, that English is the main language used in such circumstances so that it is recognised across the globe.

Another factor contributing to the spread of English in universal terms is progress in science and

technology. Improvements in such fields like health and medicine, engineering, agriculture, and similar areas are transported across the globe via the common language - English. Various meetings, international seminars and conferences are very often held with the view of an exchange and the dissemination of knowledge. English is of invaluable status in such contexts.

It is no small wonder then that with the extent of English over all the continents, its demographic distribution amongst the non-native speakers outnumbers that amongst its native speakers - it is estimated that there are some four hundred million non-native speakers of English compared to the three hundred million native speakers, (Kachru, 1981). Whether English is spoken in its pidginized or standardized varieties, it has still acquired an important role as native, second and foreign language across the globe. As Fishman so aptly says "Regardless of what may've happened to the British Empire, the sun never sets on the English Language" and it's difficult to envisage the "domains into which English has little or no entree". (Fishman, 1983: 18)

b. The Institutionalization of English

With its role as an invaluable international language, English becomes almost part and parcel of the non-English mother tongue world as well, and particularly so in countries where it is a second language. It is in these countries (like India, Africa, Philippines and Malaysia) where English is used and spread within the framework of language and corpus planning that it is said to be "institutionalized", (Kachru, 1977). In the context of each individual linguistic ecology, English is given governmental recognition, planning and sponsorship in a balanced and decided manner. This is, however, not at the expense of the local national or subnational languages.

In Malaysia, such institutionalization is vested in the place given to English in the Governments' Policy Reports and National Language Policy. English is ascribed the status of "second" language - it is a "compulsory subject in schools and is offered in all public exams - although it is not compulsory for a student to pass in this subject", (Cabinet Committee Report, 1979). Asmah (1982) comments that "the choice of English as second language is a continuation of Malaysia's acceptance of a former colonial language. Malaysia's been very pragmatic where

her treatment of the language of the colonial master is concerned. The English Language is an asset to keep, since it can provide the country with an avenue to international relations as well as a means to advancement in science and technology." Thus as the language moves through time, one sees the many concerted efforts by the various government agencies in maintaining the language. The University of Malaya, for instance, has had several large-scale English language projects aimed at guarding the various skills of English (at tertiary level) - the first two are now completed. These are the UMESP and UMSEP projects (i.e. for Reading and Speaking respectively - University of Malaya English for Special Purposes and University of Malaya Spoken English Projects). Another avenue of guardianship where the status of the English Language is concerned is the Curriculum-Development Centre of the Ministry of Education - which strives to maintain the "second-language" role of English, without letting it become one of a Foreign language. It is not surprising therefore, when the Director-General of Education (Tan Sri Murad Mohamed Nor (1981) - just retired, at the time of writing) often reiterates that it is "the responsibility of the teachers to ensure that English does not become a foreign language altogether. English must be maintained as

a second language because if our students continue to be poor in it, they could stand to lose out on a number of important things."

c. The Indigenization of English

In the wake of such institutionalization an inevitable continuum has emerged amongst the various non-native Englishes. Most of those ESL countries have had English at their disposal for at least two centuries. It is inevitable, therefore, that the English adopted by the local milieu has many filterings of local features in it. Such features have precipitated what is known as non-native/new/Third World Englishes - the result of language acquisition and acculturation. The terms "hybridization", "indigenization" and "nativization" by Whinnom (1971), Moag (1977) and Kachru (1981) are some of the appellations ascribed to this process which is gaining significant sociolinguistic prominence in the last two decades particularly.

Thus the English which was initially the code of the colonial administration was absorbed in its native form, reaching, for a start, the more educated levels of the local speech community. But in the decades that

followed, some of the linguistic features of English had been influenced by the local languages so that the phonology, syntax, lexis and semantics have acquired a mixed surface - giving rise to the "non-native" varieties. In Malaysia, for instance, the variety now known more commonly as Malaysian English has, among various factors, the local languages as one of the ingredients that colour this variety (these local languages being basically Malay, Chinese and Tamil as explained above). Such indigenized varieties are most often the informal communicative (speech) variety (as compared to a more codified and standardized 'model' variety). In some aspects, however, (on the lexical level particularly) this tendency is slowly being changed - some of the informal features also appear in rhetorical official form. Some examples are such "Indianisms" in Indian English which Kachru (1981 (b)) quotes - "Marathwada band over pandal fire" and "DESA workers Gherao staff." Similarly it is not uncommon to find such lexicalization in the Malaysian media-both over the air and in print - and not in mere headlines style but in full reporting style. Some headline examples are "Anti-dadah (drug) operations in kampung (village)", "Ganja (marijuana) victim gets six years and rotan (caning)", "Sawi (spinach) glut hits farmers", "Eight get Datukship

(lordship) for Ruler's Birthday", "Toddy (fermented coconut water) to be bottled and canned for export", and "Penghulus (village-chiefs) get ultimatum".

Apart from such influxes of lexis into the Malaysian English speaker's repertoire, the phonological and syntactic features too have elements of nativization. The extent or degree to which each of these levels have been indigenized varies, however, from one non-native variety to the other. Furthermore, within each of these "new Englishes", as mentioned above, there is also differentiation between the standardized norm (the model acceptable for official purposes viz. teaching in schools, official functions etc.) and the more communicative style used in the speech of most users. The terms used to distinguish these two levels are the acrolect and the mesolect respectively. In Malaysia, the acrolect tends to be still more of the Standard British English although some local influence (especially at the lexical and phonological levels) is tolerated. The mesolect is very much the Malaysian variety - that informal style used among Malaysians. It is this mesolect into and out of which the very same speakers weave - using an almost International English at one instance (perhaps when speaking to a

superior or with a non-Malaysian) and then switching (almost immediately) into the mesolectal Malaysian English when speaking to his friend. The admirable ease with which an average educated Malaysian does this is proof enough that there is a variety called "Malaysian English" with its systematic phonological, syntactic and lexical features. It is this informal spoken variety that will be the focus of the second part of my thesis - on aspects of Malaysian English syntax.

There is a third 'lect' so to speak - the basilect - which most often signifies the uneducated style of speech communication which can be considered the "patois" form of the new Englishes - be they Malaysian, Indian or African English. In Malaysia, this is often termed "broken English" or "half-past six English", ("half-past six" being a local idiomatic adjective referring to something below expectation or standard).

(iv) MALAYSIAN ENGLISH

- a. Development of English in Malaysia.
- b. Official Status and Use of English.

(iv) MALAYSIAN ENGLISH

a. Development of Malaysian English

With almost two centuries of nurturing and two decades of nursing, the English Language in Malaysia, has developed to become a typical progeny of the "New Englishes" (the purist may use the term 'prodigal' instead). Two centuries indicate the period of English language currency in Malaysia and two decades represent a) the time span during which English in Malaysia was officially ascribed secondary status (1965 to 1985) - during which time its official role has changed and b) the approximate period of time during which most recent issues in the identification and recognition of the "New Englishes" have been vehemently debated - one obvious and often-quoted case in the literature being Kachru's manifesto (1976) on Prator's 'attitudinal sins'.

Malaysian English is here to stay and it is this English that has developed through the centuries in a multilingual tapestry that is Malaysia. It was brought into the country by the English but has filtered through to the heterogenous local populace. The filtrate is now what we can term Malaysian English. The basic features of

phonology, syntax and lexis are not totally different from the original British English but each of those linguistic levels has had influences from the local languages as well as modifications (by way of various communicative strategies like over-generalization, simplification, omission etc.) that have now been fossilized deep enough to be recognisably Malaysian - so Malaysian as to instil captions like these appearing frequently in articles and editorials in the local English dailies - viz. "Our special way of talking", "The Malaysian 'lah' is here to stay", "We all talk like machine-gun aa?" "Our own lingo-lah!" and "Malaysian English dictionary on the way".

b. Official Status and Use of Malaysian English

As mentioned earlier on, such filterings of indigenized features have resulted in what is actually the informal, spoken style - the mesolect. The more formal acrolect (both spoken and written) also has etchings of a Malaysian nature but only in the phonology and lexis (these are tolerated only to a degree). Thus it is not unusual to get instances of the following in, say,

- a. a television/radio news bulletin on the National Network, with sentences like:

"Four men were arrested in a dusun [orchard] off Kuala Ketil for allegedly having murdered the kadi [judge] who rebuked them for previous instances of khalwat" [close proximity with members of the opposite sex].

- b. a university dean's opening address at an international seminar:

"It is with great pleasure that I extend a very warm welcome to all of you to this seminar..."

phonologically represented as //it is wiθ greit pleʃə ðæt ai eksten ə veri wɒm welkʌm tu ɔ:l ɔf ju tu ðis semina: //. Thus in (a) we have indigenised lexicalizations with Standard English syntax viz. indefinite article and definite article - 'a dusun' and 'the kadi' respectively. In (b) we have phonological features like /θ/ instead of /ð/ in /wiθ/ and /ʃ/ instead of /ʒ/ in /pleʃə/, besides the others indicated in the transcription - which although variant from Standard British English, do not impede intelligibility. In such official use, such dialectal features are not frowned upon although syntactical deviations will not be accepted at all. Thus in both speech and writing, Malaysian English is standard enough to

be near-native, at the acrolectal level, tolerating the occasional phonological (more specifically the segmental features) and lexical divergencies to a certain degree.

This acrolectal form of Malaysian English is the level aimed at in the pedagogical domain as a prescriptive norm in language instruction. It is not 'native' in that it allows for some indigenized phonological and lexical features but it is 'near-native' in so far as the syntactic features still hold. Perhaps the Primary School Syllabus for Malaysian Schools (1971) is best quoted here - "Our aim of international intelligibility does not imply that our pupils should speak exactly like Englishmen. There would not be sufficient time to achieve this nor is it necessary. What is aimed at is that they should be able to speak with acceptable rhythm and stress, and to produce the sounds of English sufficiently well for a listener to be able to distinguish between similar words."

It is in the mesolectal level - what Richards (1979) in line with Haugen (1971) terms the 'communicative style' (as opposed to the more formal rhetorical style of the acrolect) - that Malaysian English is most predominantly featured. This is the 'lect' that truly

represents Malaysian English as a fully-fledged variety of English - as a New English. Malaysians feel free to use this indigenized variety not because they do not know any other but because they prefer to use their own. There is a general reluctance to use Received Pronunciation in their speech on the grounds that it smacks of affectation. "Malaysian English is here to stay, to grow, to cater for Malaysians", writes an enthusiastic Malaysian to the editor of the Straits Times (a local English daily) (S.T. 1980). Although this lect is not the formal standard aimed at in programmed instruction, it is there - in informal use especially, by way of its phonology, syntax, lexis and style.

The mesolect however, should not be confused with the next lectal level - the basilect. This is the 'patois' or bazaar Malaysian English - a stigmatized form which is however, not as reduced as to be termed a pidginised English. It is the communicative tool of the man-on-the-street; - the average pedlar, taxi-driver or noodles-seller whose system of English is acquired on an ad lib basis, with a smattering of picked-up words and phrases, not forgetting the phonological fissures that could send anyone, particularly the foreign traveller, reeling with

laughter.

Before describing the actual linguistic features of the mesolect in Malaysian English it would be useful to place my definition and scope of ME in comparison with previous attempts at describing ME. There have been a considerable number of attempts at describing ME previous to this. In most cases, however, ME was subsumed under Singapore English. It is about time that ME and SE are divorced from each other at least on two non-linguistic criteria:

(a) Since 1965 Singapore is no more in any way politically connected to Malaya or Malaysia (when it was so previous to that) - it is twenty years now and the recognition of a separate variety is long overdue. (b) The language policies in both the nations have been different for the past twenty years. This will have varied implications on the role and long-term effects of English on the local populace of each nation. Tongue (1974) who describes the English of Singapore and Malaysia (ESM) in his book, predicted (in 1974) that "in a hundred years time 'ESM' indicating the existing of a single dialect of English used in the two countries, will no longer be

applicable". In terms of structural indigenization features alone, one may be able to say that a difference can be traced when considering the substrate languages - Bahasa Malaysia playing a more dominant role in Malaysia whilst dialects from the Chinese group are dominant in Singapore. No in-depth study has been done to prove this to date. This is another area of study which would be of importance and relevance in the future, in envisaging the emergence of two varieties between Malaysian and Singapore English.

In any case, I acknowledge the most noteworthy attempts at describing ME and/or SE by Tongue (1974), Crewe (1974), Richards (1979), Platt and Weber (1980), Mary Tay (1981) and Irene Wong (1981). A look at the terminology and approach taken in describing M/SE by the above writers would be useful in placing the second part of my thesis in perspective.

<u>Tongue</u>	<u>Crewe</u>	<u>Richards</u>	<u>Platt/Weber & Mary Tay</u>	<u>Irene Wong</u>
Standard ESM (formal, educated)	Formal written Formal spoken	High Form (Rhetorical)	Acrolect	Formal
↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
Substandard ESM (informal, uneducated)	Colloquial SE	Low Form (communica- tive)	Mesolect Basilect	Informal

It will be realised, therefore, that where the first three writers along with Irene Wong, talk in terms of a Standard and a colloquial form with various terminologies such as standard, formal, educated, high, rhetorical (compared to substandard, informal, uneducated, low, communicative) forms, Platt and Weber, along with Mary Tay, see a three-tiered lectal continuum. I, too, prefer to take a three-tiered approach to describing ME although I prefer to use the terms "official ME" (Standard ME), "Unofficial ME" (dialectal ME) and "Broken ME" (patois ME). Thus the basic subdivision in my description of ME would be as tabulated below:

Socio-linguistic	OFFICIAL ME	UNOFFICIAL ME	BROKEN ME	
	(STANDARD ME) (Spoken & Written) (Formal use) (International intelligibility)	(DIALECTAL ME) (Spoken & Written) (Informal use) (National intelligibility)	(PATOIS ME) (Spoken only) (Colloquial use) (Patois intelligibility & currency)	
	Phonology	Slight variation tolerated so long as it is internationally intelligible.	More variation is tolerated - including prosodic features esp. stress and intonation.	Severe variation - both segmental and prosodic, with intonation so stigmatized - almost unintelligible internationally.
	Syntax	No deviation tolerated at all.	Some deviation is acceptable although it is not as stigmatized, as broken English, (intelligibility is still there.)	Substantial variation/ deviation (National intelligibility).
	Lexis	Variation acceptable esp. for words not substitutable in an international context. (or to give a more localised context).	Lexicalizations quite prevalent even for words having international English substitutes.	Major lexicalization - heavily infused with local language items.

(v) PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

- a. Segmental Features.
- b. Suprasegmental Features.
- c. Phonotactic Features.

(v) PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

a. Segmental

Contoids

1. Contoid cluster reduction

There is a general tendency to reduce contoidal clusters to one or two elements less than is necessary, in M.E. (eg. from 3 to 2, or 2 to 1), especially in clusters involving stops and fricatives as well as the lateral element. Such reduction is quite common in medial position clusters but most common in final position clusters.

E.g. Reduction from three to two phonemes:

<u>medial position</u>		<u>final position</u>	
R.P.	M.E.	R.P.	M.E.
syndrome/sindrəʊm/	→/sinrəʊm/	glimpse/glimps/	→/glims/
hundred/hʌndrəd/	→/hʌnrəd/	midst/mɪdst/	→/mɪds/
symptom/sɪmptəm/	→/sɪmtəm/	length/lenkə/	→/lenə/
hunter/hʌntsmən/	→/hʌnsmən/	exempt/ɪgzempt/	→/ɪgsent/
umbrage/ʌmbrɪdʒ/	→/ʌmɪdʒ/	prompt/prɒmpt/	→/prɒmt/
		patient/peɪfnt/	→/peɪfn/
		thousand/θauznd/	→/θauzn/

Reduction from two to one phoneme:

R.P.	M.E.	R.P.	M.E.
		result/rɪzʌlt/	→/rɪzʌt/ or /rɪzʌl/
elbow/elbəʊ/	→/ebəʊ/	self/self/	→/sef/ or /sel/
always/ɔːlweɪz/	→/ɔːweɪs/	involve/ɪnvɒlv/	→/ɪnvɒv/ or /ɪnvɔːl/
also/ɔːlsəʊ/	→/ɔːsəʊ/	told/təʊld/	→/təʊd/ or /təʊl/
		except/ɪksept/	→/ɪkseɪp/
		inject/ɪndʒekt/	→/ɪndʒek/
		digest/daɪdʒest/	→/daɪdʒes/
		don't/dəʊnt/	→/dəʊn'/
		stand/staend/	→/staen/
		fifth/fɪfθ/	→/fɪf/

2. Voicing in Fricatives

i. Devoicing of Voiced Fricatives

In M.E. there is a common tendency to devoice fricatives so that voiced fricatives /v, ð, z, ʒ/ occur as voiceless fricatives. This feature is most common in final position although the /z, ʒ/ fricatives are also devoiced in medial position.

In R.P. such voiced fricatives do tend to be devoiced (only partially) but the contoid still remains lenis. "The lenis plosives, in initial and final positions,

may be only partially voiced or completely voiceless... in 'leave, breathe, peas, rouge' (in final position), the friction is typically voiceless though the consonant remains lenis [v, ð, z, ʒ, ʒ]") (Gimson, 1970). However, in medial position they are fully voiced.

In M.E. such devoicing results in the medial and final position fricatives becoming the voiceless and hence fortis corresponding fricative (except for /v/ and /ð/ in medial position).

e.g.	<u>medial position</u>	<u>final position</u>
		R.P. M.E.
/v/ → /f/	Not commonly devoiced	give/giv/ → /gif/
		move/mu:v/ → /mu:f/
		have/haev/ → /haef/
		wave/weiv/ → /weif/
		solve/sɔlv/ → /sɔf/
/ð/ → /θ/ (See 3)		with/wið/ → /wiθ/
		smooth/smu:ð/ → /smu:θ/
		bathe/beið/ → /beiθ/
/z/ → /s/	thousand/θauznd/ → /θausnd/	is/iz/ → /is/
	easy/i:zi/ → /i:si/	was/wɔz/ → /wɔs/
	husband/hʌzband/ → /hʌsban/	does/dʌz/ → /dʌs/

	noise/nɔɪz/ → *nɔɪs/
	jazz/dʒæz/ → *dʒæɪs/
/z/ → *ʃ/	usual/juʒuəl/ → *juʃuəl/ rouge/ru:ʒ/ → *ru:ʃ/
	pleasure/pleʒə/ → *pleʃə/ beige/beɪʒ/ → *beɪʃ/
	measure/meʒə/ → *meʃə/
	revision/rɪvɪʒn/ → *rɪvɪʃn/

ii. Voicing of Voiceless Fricatives

The alveolar and palato-alveolar voiceless fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ are quite often voiced. This is a tendency in both medial and final positions although the alveolar fricative /s/ has voicing mostly in final position.

<u>medial position</u>	<u>final position</u>
	R.P. M.E.
/s/ → *z/	nice/nais/ → *naɪz/
	fierce/fiəɪs/ → *fiəɪz/
	increase/ɪŋkri:s/ → *ɪŋkri:z/
	pass/pa:s/ → *pa:z/
	course/kɔ:s/ → *kɔ:z/
<u>medial position</u>	<u>final position</u>
/ʃ/ → *ʒ/	special/speʃəl/ → *speʒəl/ push/puʃ/ → *puʒ/
pressure/preʃə/ → *preʒə/	wash/wɒʃ/ → *wɒʒ/
nation/neɪʃn/ → *neɪʒən/	fish/fɪʃ/ → *fɪʒ/

assure/əʃʊə/ → /əʒʊə/
 moustache/maʊsta:ʃ/ → /məsta:ʒ/
 social/səʊʃl/ → /səʊʒəl/
 permission/pəmiʃn/ → /pəmiʒən/

3. Dental Fricative Substitution

The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are often substituted by the corresponding alveolar stops /t/ and /d/ respectively. This is a common feature in all three positions (initial, medial and final) although in final position the fricative /ð/ is not really substituted by /d/ but by /θ/ instead (see 2(i))

e.g. initial position

R.P.	M.E.
/θ/ → /t/	thick/θɪk/ → /tɪk/
three/θri:/	/tɹi:/
thought/θɔ:t/	/tɔ:t/
/ð/ → /d/	the/ðə/ → /də/
this/θɪs/	/dɪs/
them/ðəm/	/dəm/

medial position

R.P.	M.E.
anthem/æneɪm/	/æneɪtəm/
method/meθəd/	/metəd/
father/fa:ðə/	/fa:də/
either/ðiðə/	/daɪdə/
rather/ra:ðə/	/ra:də/

final position

R.P. M.E.

/θ/ → /t/ breath/breθ/ → /bræt/

worth/wɔ:θ/ → /wɔ:t/

fourth/fɔ:θ/ → /fɔ:t/

/ð/ → /d/ /substituted by

/θ/ (See 2(i))

4. Stop Substitution

The stops, especially in final position, are quite often replaced by the glottal stop /ʔ/. This feature can be said to be similarly recurrent in Cockney English at least for the voiceless stops. In M.E. it is a feature most recurrent in the 'patois' or 'broken' English level.

R.P. M.E.

e.g. /p/ → /ʔ/ hope/həʊp/ → /həʊʔ/

rub/ rʌb/ → /rʌʔ/

/t/ → /ʔ/ cut/kʌt/ → /kʌʔ/

mud/mʌd/ → /mʌʔ/

/k/ → /ʔ/ shock/ʃɔk/ → /ʃɔʔ/

frog/frɒg/ → /frɒʔ/

5. Secondary Phoneme Substitution

Some English contoids are comparatively new to the M.E. speaker - especially to the speaker from the lowest educational and socio-economic levels. Very often such contoids are not in the original phonological framework of the ethnic language of the ME speaker - whether it is Malay, Chinese or Tamil. If such contoids are in the phonology, they have been borrowed into the L₁ [due to cognates from English (loan-words)] and as such are secondary phonemes in the L₁ itself. The frequency of such secondary phonemes in each of the languages concerned viz. Malay, Chinese and Tamil, is low. Thus the ME speaker finds such sounds relatively new in his L₁ itself - so that in his attempts to speak ME, he approximates the sound nearest to his own (original) system. Thus we have:

e.g. The Malay ME speaker's approximants

R.P. M.E.

/p/ for /f/ in fan/fæn/ → /pæn/

film/film/ → /pilm/

/b/ for /v/ in very/veri/ → /beri/

vitamin/vitəmin/ → /bitəmin/

/ɔ/ for /z/ in zebra/zɪbrə/ → /ɔ:ibɾə/

zero/zɪ:rəu/ → /ɔ:ɪ:rɔ/

The Chinese ME speaker's approximants

	R.P.	M.E.
/l/ for /r/	fried rice/ <u>f</u> raid <u>r</u> ais/	→/f <u>l</u> aid/ <u>l</u> ais/ ran/ <u>r</u> aen/→/l <u>a</u> en/
/dz/ for /z/ in	zero/ <u>z</u> ir <u>ə</u> /	→/d <u>z</u> ir <u>ə</u> /or/d <u>z</u> il <u>ə</u> /
	zebra/ <u>z</u> ib <u>r</u> ə/	→/d <u>z</u> ib <u>r</u> ə/or/d <u>z</u> ib <u>l</u> ə:/

The Tamil ME speaker's approximants

	R.P.	M.E.
/w/ for /v/ in	van/ <u>v</u> aen/	→/w <u>a</u> en/
	never/ <u>nev</u> ə/	→/new <u>ə</u> /
	love/ l <u>v</u> /	→/l <u>w</u> /
/h/ deletion for /h/ in	house/ <u>h</u> aus/	→/əus/
	hungry/ <u>h</u> ʌŋgri/	→/ʌŋgri/

Vocoids

6. Unstressed Schwa Substitution

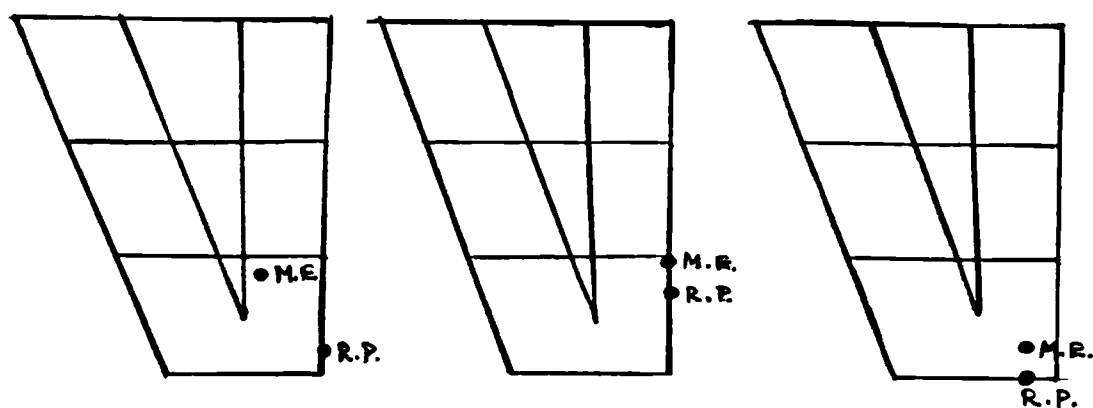
A recurrent feature among ME speakers is the full phonetic realization of the orthographic representation of the vowels normally realized in R.P. by the unstressed schwa. For eg. in R.P. "advantage" /əd'va:ntɪdʒ/ (noun) and "advantageous" /ædvən'teɪdʒəs/ (adj.), the "a" orthographic representation is phonetically realized as /ə/ in the unstressed syllable of the noun and as /æ/ in the stressed syllable of the adjective.

In ME the tendency is to pronounce the stressed version of the vowel even in unstressed position. Thus we have:

	R.P.	M.E.
e.g.	around/əraʊnd/	→/ʌraʊn(d)/
	assess/əses/	→/æses/
	upon/əpɒn/	→/ʌpɒn/
	conceal/kənsi:l/	→/kɒnsi:l/

7. Vocoid Quality

Vocoids in M.E., particularly of the back vowels, like /ɔ /, /ɔ:/ and /a:/ tend to be of a more close quality. For e.g. /ɔ/ (an almost open, back vowel in R.P.) is often realized as a half-open and a more central vowel in M.E. (as in "what" /wɔt/ and "because", /bikɔz/. /a:/ (a fully open, almost back vowel in R.P.) is realized as a half-open and more central vowel in M.E. (as in 'hard' /hɑ:d/ and can't /kɑ:nt/).



R.P. and M.E./ɔ:/

R.P. and M.E. /ɔ:/

R.P. and M.E./ɑ:/

8. Vocoid Length

i. Shortening of Long Vowels

There is a general tendency to shorten long vowels in M.E. This feature can be attributed to the absence of long vowels in Bahasa Malahysia. It recurs mostly in long vowels in medial position.

e.g. /i:/ → /i/ field/fi:ld/ → /fild/

peel/ pi:l/ → /pil/

/a:/ → /ʌ/ half/hɑ:f/ → /hʌf/ or /hʌf/

park/pa:k/ → /pʌk/ or /pʌk/

/ɔ:/ → /ɔ/ water/wɔ:tə/ → /wɔtə/

born/bɔ:n/ → /bɔn/

/u:/ → /ʊ/ food/fu:ɹd/ → /fʊɹd/
 move/mu:v/ → /mʊv/
 /ə:/ → /ə/ girl/gə:l/ → /gəl/
 word/wɜ:d/ → /wəd/

ii. Lengthening of Short Vowels

Conversely, short vowels in medial position, tend to be lengthened in M.E. This feature however is most common among the patois speakers.

R.P. M.E.

e.g. /i/ → /i:/ fish/fɪʃ/ → /fi:ʃ/
 pin/pɪn/ → /pi:n/
 /ʌ/ → /a:/ run/rʌn/ → /ra:n/
 dust/dʌs(t)/ → /da:s(t)/
 /ɔ/ → /ɔ:/ sorry/sɔ:ri/ → /sɔ:ri/
 gone/gɒn/ → /gɔ:n/
 /ʊ/ → /u:/ would/wʊd/ → /wu:d/
 full/fʊl/ → /fu:l/
 /ə/ → /ɜ:/ salad/sælɪd/ → /saelɜ:d/
 breakfast/brekfɛst/ → /brekfɜ:s(t)/

Diphthongs

9. Reduced Diphthongs

M.E. does not have the full range of diphthongs. The R.P. diphthongs /eɪ/, /aʊ/ (əʊ), /ʊə/ and /ɛə/ do not have the full quality of a two-vowel entity in M.E. - thus they are reduced to monophthongs (The first vocoid is stronger but the second vocoid is almost absent). Thus we have the following instances of monophthongization in M.E.

	R.P.	M.E.
e.g. /eɪ/ → /ɛ/	mail-train/meɪl-treɪn/	→ /mɛl-tren/
	rail-way/reɪl-weɪ/	→ /rel-we/
/aʊ/ → /oː/	slow coach/slaʊ kaʊtʃ/	→ /sloːkoːtʃ/
	don't know/dəʊnt nəʊ/	→ /dɒn(t) no/
	photo/fəʊtəʊ/	→ /foto/
/ʊə/ → /ɔ/	pure/pjʊə/	→ /pjɔ/
	cure/kjʊə/	→ /kjɔ/
	moor/mʊə/	→ /mɔ/
/ɛə/ → /ɛ/	there/ðɛə/	→ /ðɛ/
	hair care/hɛə keə/	→ /hekɛ/

10. Identical Diphthong Sequence

The diphthong /iə/ when occurring recurrently in a single word is reduced to the long vowel /iː/ in the first occurrence, in M.E.

M.E.

e.g. /iə, iə/ → /i:, iə/ serious/siriəs/ → /si:riəs/
 material/mətiriəl/ → /məti:riəl/
 experience/ikspiriəns/ → /ekspi:riəns/

b. Suprasegmental

11. Stress

Generally speaking, the stress-patterns in official (standard) M.E. are similar to those in R.P. but there is still a certain degree of variation in both word and sentence-stress patterns especially in unofficial (dialectal) and broken (patois) M.E.

i. Stress-position

Where R.P. has ascribed stress-position in disyllabic and polysyllabic words that have only single stress, M.E. differs where such stress-position is concerned. Thus if a certain word has only primary stress on one syllable (say the first), it is not unusual to hear the M.E. speaker having the stress on some other syllable instead.

M.E.

e.g. exercise/'eksəsaiz/ → /eksə'saiz/
lieutenant/lef'tenant/ → /'leftənən(t)/

Likewise, in multistressed (polysyllabic) words, the M.E. speaker's positions of these stresses do not always tally exactly with that of the R.P. speaker.

R.P.	M.E.
e.g. intellectual /,inta'lektʃuəl/	→ /'inta'lektʃuəl/
personality /,pɜːsə'neɪləti/	→ /'pɜːsəneɪləti/
misunderstand /,mɪsʌndə'staend/	→ /'mɪsʌndəstæn(d)/

In the same vein, the M.E. speaker often tends to confuse the stress-positions that differentiate homophonous words - that have varying morphemic functions (orthographically identical but representing different parts of speech). Thus stress shows the phonemic difference here. Some such examples in R.P. are the morphemes that can be either nouns, verbs or adjectives.

e.g.	R.P. NOUN	VERB
	digest /'daɪ dʒ est/	/, d a i 'dʒ est/
	import /'ɪmpɔːt/	/ɪm'pɔːt/
	permit /'pɜːmit/	/pə'mit/
	insult /'ɪnsʌlt/	/ɪn'sʌlt/
	torment /'tɔːment/	/tɔː'ment/

Thus in a sentence like this, for example,

"Malaysia produces a lot of rubber which is the import of many industrialising countries", the morphemes "produces" and "import" would be typically stressed like this:

R.P.

M.E.

produces/prə'dʒusɪz/ → /'prɒdʒusɪz/

import /'ɪmpɔ:t/ → /ɪm'pɔ:t/

Another example would be a sentence like this: "She was absent from school so often that she was given a transfer." Here again the morphemes "absent" and "transfer" would be typically stressed like this:

R.P.

M.E.

absent/ 'æbsənt/ → /æ b'sən(t)/

transfer/'trænsfə/ → /træn'sfə/
(a:) (a:)

ii. Stress-Quantity

Where R.P. may have more than one stress in a polysyllabic word, M.E. does not necessarily have the same number of stresses in that word. Thus the M.E. speaker feels free to both reduce as well as increase the number of stresses in the word (as well as change the position, as mentioned previously).

e.g. manufacture/maenju'fæktʃə/ → /maenju'fæktʃə/

generalization/ʤenrə'lai'zeɪʃn/ → /'ʤenrə'lai,zeɪʃn/

iii. Stress-Quality

As far as stress-quality is concerned, (viz. primary and secondary stress), the M.E. speaker's placements of such stress-quality varies, though rather unpredictably, from that of his R.P. counterpart. Thus where R.P. may have primary stress M.E. may have secondary stress and vice-versa.

R.P.	M.E.
------	------

e.g. interrupt/	intə'rʌpt/ → 'intə'rʌp(t)/
farewell/	fə'wel/ → 'fɛəwel/
misunderstand/	mɪsʌndə'staend/ → 'mɪsʌnd'staen(d)/
questionnaire/	kwɛstjə'nɛə/ → 'kwɛstjə' nɛ(:)/

In some cases (as in "misunderstand", "questionnaire" above) secondary stress is given equal prominence so that the M.E. version has two equal stresses (like the double-stressed disyllabic words in R.P. - e.g. prewar/'pri:'wɔ:/, nineteen/'nain'ti:n/. Thus in the above examples of 'interrupt' and 'farewell' the M.E. speaker's stresses may also be /'intə'rʌpt/ and /'fə'wel/ with equal stresses on both syllables.

An extension of this feature of stress-quality would be word and sentence-stress for emphasis or contrast.

When the M.E. speaker wants to emphasise or contrast a point in the discourse, he lengthens and stresses that particular syllable or syllables in the word. For example, in conversations like these below, the M.E. speaker effects the contrast and emphasises by stress-quality change (along with vowel quality change as well).

Speaker 1: "How many years are you going away for?"

Speaker 2: "Three years!" / 'θri:'ji:z/

Speaker 1: "Are you leaving to-day?"

Speaker 2: "No, to-morrow." /'nəu 'tu'mɔ: 'rəu/

12. Rhythm

Rhythm in M.E. is more often one of a syllable-timed nature - where all syllables (stressed as well as unstressed) recur at equal intervals of time. R.P. has a stress-timed rhythm instead which M.E. speakers do use - only in formal declamatory style or reading style. In casual speech (unofficial/informal M.E.) even among educated M.E. speakers, a syllable-timed rhythm is the order of the day.

13. Intonation and Pitch

In R.P. connected speech (as well as within the word), intonation has a range of functions, the main ones being to cue in the primary accented words and to differentiate the various sentence-types along with indicating the various speaker attitudes (and emotions) involved within the context of discourse. The various types of nucleus (falling \, rising /, fall-rise v, and rise-fall ^) that are operant in R.P. are used to signify the differences in a speech situation, depending on the position and type of nucleus involved. In M.E. however, there are not so many patterns of intonation and they do not perform so many functions. Thus if any syllable is to be stressed within the word or any word is to be stressed within the sentence, loudness is the differentiating factor. (i.e. greater breath effort and muscular energy is effected by the M.E. speaker). Change in pitch direction both within the word as well as within the sentence is not common in M.E. speech as it is considered affected and undesirable. Thus in a sentence like this: "I have four sisters" (and not five), the difference between the R.P. and M.E. speaker's intonation would be:

	<hr/>				
	~				
R.P.	<u>/ai</u>	<u>haev</u>	<u>fɔə</u>	<u>sis</u>	<u>təz/</u>
	<hr/>				
M.E.	<u>/ai</u>	<u>haev</u>	<u>fɔə</u>	<u>sis</u>	<u>təz/</u>
	<hr/>				

In other words, pitch direction does not change within the accented (stressed) word (say as a fall\ or a rise / etc.). Intonation within the word is most often level intonation, except in few particles that are used in informal speech as indicators of intimacy, emotion, acceptance, excitement and the like.

For signifying various sentence-types or for showing the speaker's attitude or emotion, M.E. does not have as wide a range of intonation as R.P. In M.E., there are such markers of questions and attitudes or emotions as particles - examples of which are the "lah", "man", and "ah(uh)" particles. These are substitutes for intonation especially in indicating emotions and attitudes.

As for range of pitch in the M.E. speaker, it certainly is not as wide as that in the R.P. speaker (except in, maybe, extremely excitable situations). For example in declamatory style, in R.P. a man's pitch range is said to be about two octaves (sixteen notes on the

musical staff) with the highest note at F (above middle C), whilst in normal speech, it is as high as D (above middle C). For women, it is a little less wide with a range between D (one octave above middle C) and G (below middle C) in declamatory style and between B (six notes above middle C) and G (below middle C) for normal speech. (Daniel Jones, 1970).

R.P.		M.E.	
MEN'S PITCH	WOMEN'S PITCH	MEN'S PITCH	WOMEN'S PITCH
RANGE	RANGE	RANGE	RANGE
Declama- tory Style	Normal Speech	Declama- tory Style	Normal Speech

In M.E., the range of pitch does not extend over this wide a scale. Perhaps at the most from middle C to an octave below for the men and upper C (one octave above middle C) to middle C for women depending on whether it is declamatory or discourse style. It is not usual to find that the M.E. speaker's intonation is not as excitable and varied as his R.P. counterpart's, although, at times in the discourse he gets the focal points in his conversation stressed by sonority and loudness. Pitch range for the M.E. speaker widens only in extremely excitable instances in the discourse.

c. Phonotactic Features

14. Gradation

In R.P. unaccented words show reductions of length of sounds and obscurations of vowels.

e.g.	<u>strong form</u>		<u>weak form</u>
	do/du:/	————→	/də/
	for/fɔ:/	————→	/fə/
	but/bʌt/	————→	/bət/
	at/æt/	————→	/ət/
	of/ɔv/	————→	/əv/
	and/aend/	————→	/æn→ən/
	be/bi:/	————→	/bi/

In M.E. such gradation is not at all common except maybe in very official and declamatory style. The definite and indefinite articles "the" and "a" as well as the preposition "of" and the conjunction "and" are sometimes reduced in connected informal speech although the frequency of such gradation is considerably low.

15. Liaison

While liaison is a prominent feature of R.P. connected speech, it is seldom observed in M.E. - except in the very official speech of the educated M.E. speaker (standard/official M.E.). Linking 'r' is more frequently used by the M.E. speaker than intrusive 'r'. This may be because there is an 'r' in the orthography - the M.E. speaker finds it acceptable to vocalise it in connected speech as in:

here and there /hiə r ær(d) ðeə/

far and near /fa:r æn(d) niə/

rare opportunity /reə r ɒpə'tju:nəti/

But the M.E. speaker finds it really odd to use intrusive 'r' in his speech, this resulting in the very staccato, jerky effect in his speech. Some examples of intrusive 'r' are in the phrases:

law and order /lɔ:ɹ æn(d)ɔ:də/
Malaysia and India /Məleɪʃiəɹ æn(d) indiə/

16. Syllabicity

A notable feature in R.P. is the syllabic function fulfilled by contoids like the lateral /l/ and the nasal /m/ - where they behave as consonants in being marginal in the syllable yet taking on the function of a syllable without the vowel. They are said to be "syllabic in terms of the prominence and pulse theories". Gimson (1970). Such examples of syllabic contoids are: button/bʌt̩n/, little/lɪt̩l/ and bottle/bɒt̩l/.

In M.E. this feature is almost absent (except in official/standard speech of educated speakers). Thus we have button/bʌtən/, little /lɪtəl/ and bottle/bɒtəl/ instead - with the CVC pattern (the schwa taking prominence for syllabicity). This tendency to insert the vowel to perform the syllabic function can be attributed to a consistent CVC system within the syllable in Bahasa Malaysia.

17. Elision

This is another frequent feature in R.P. (within the word and in connected speech). Within the word, elision occurs by the loss or obscuration of phonemes in weakly accented or totally unaccented syllables. In connected speech, an instance of elision is when the initial schwa is lost, and /l/ and /ə/ take on a syllabic role. The M.E. variants of such instances of elision are shown below:

	R.P.	M.E.
e.g	factory/ faektri/	→/faektəri/
	buffalo/bʌfləu/	→/bʌfələu/
	national/næʃnl/	→/naeʃnəl/
	murderer/mɜːdrə/	→/mɜːdərə/
	run along /rʌnlɔŋ/	→/rʌn əlɔŋ/
	it's about time/ɪts baʊt taɪm/	→/ɪtsəbaʊt taɪm/

Generally speaking, therefore, it will be realised that the degree of phonological variation - be it segmental, suprasegmental or phonotactic - depends on variables like the education and socio-economic background of the M.E. speaker - along with register and the style of discourse. Certain of the features are definite enough to be considered diagnostic of M.E. as such - yet it is

difficult to decide to which level of M.E. they belong. But as mentioned earlier on, the M.E. speaker, on the whole, can have a competence that is near-native, if not, even native, whilst at the same time having the ability to 'switch levels' so to speak and perform in a lect well below his highest level. For example: the same speaker may enunciate all three consonants of a consonant cluster in speaking to a forum of delegates but will reduce the same cluster to just one consonant when speaking to say his colleague in the office or the 'jaga-kereta' boy (parking attendant) at the car-park in his office grounds. There are however, the patois M.E. speakers who can be placed rigidly on one level (and who can't switch lects as mentioned above), but the actual phonological variations between the educated speaker's official and unofficial speech are hard to determine. Patois M.E. features are predictable and identifiable however.

(vi) LEXICAL FEATURES

- a. Local Language Referents.
- b. Standard English Lexicalisation.

(vi) LEXICAL FEATURES

The indigenization features that are salient in M.E. can be considered via different approaches. A morphemic approach can be taken where a description of the lexicon via the various parts of speech (nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.) can be attempted. Then again general descriptions of individual lexemes can be given, showing their deviation from standard English usage. This would entail an exhaustive glossary of such "Malaysianisms" (similar to Sey's "Ghanaianisms"), (1973) which is not necessary for the present purpose. Yet another approach would be to attempt a categorisation of the indigenization features in terms of the form or meaning of the lexemes, thus via describing them in the light of cognates, word-formation processes, idioms or as features showing semantic-relationships like collocation, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, polysemy and homonymy. When considering English in the Malaysian context and the consequent surfacing of the M.E. lexicon, the semantic relationships of the following kinds would be considered.

A. Local language referents (use of local lexicon in M.E. speech) and B. Standard English Lexicalisation (English Lexemes with M.E. usage).

Within each of these categories there are sub-categories which I feel are representative enough although they are not exhaustive. There are still other aspects like idiomaticity, acronyms/abbreviations and slang which could be included but are not, purely due to constraints of purpose in this thesis, which seeks to describe indigenization features only in the syntax of M.E.

A. Local Language Referents

With almost two decades of ESL status in the country, the lexicon of Malaysian English has a profusion of local terms with characteristics that warrant their presence in the system. One wonders why their English translational equivalents could not have sufficed. Although, on the whole, there is sameness of reference, the degree and nature of the sameness of meaning (between the local lexeme and its English equivalent) is variable - thus the need to maintain the local term. As mentioned earlier on, the major local ethnic languages are Malay, Chinese (dialects of this language family) and Tamil. Thus filterings from each of these languages sometimes representative of the respective group (ethnic-specific and culture-bound) but most times generally characteristic of Malaysian society (with Bahasa Malaysia terms - i.e. the

national language) - have been entrenched as part and parcel of M.E.

The various characteristics that warrant the use of local terms can be considered from the following points:

- a. Institutionalised concepts
- b. Emotional and cultural loading
- c. Semantic restriction
- d. Cultural/culinary terms
- e. Hyponymous collocation
- f. Campus/Student Coinages

a. Institutionalised Concepts

Some of the local words that have been borrowed into M.E. really have no equivalent in standard English. The non-native concept is somewhat an institutionalised one (in the local context) so that the English equivalent, even in paraphrase does not express the meaning as effectively or exhaustively. Some examples are terms like bumiputera, gotong-royong, khalwat and rukun-tetangga. Bumiputera literally means "son of the soil" (bumi = earth, putera = son). In Malaysia, this is an appellation referring specifically to any citizen who professes the Muslim religion and is a practising Muslim. Thus the

paraphrase "son of the soil" does not fully explain this term. Likewise, the term khalwat, literally meaning "illicit proximity with the opposite sex". (proximity here implies a wider meaning than just promiscuity - even sitting close together in public places connotes khalwat). In Malaysia one often reads in the dailies of people fined with a khalwat sentence/offence or of khalwat fines imposed on them - the notion of fraternising too intimately with a member of the opposite sex out of wedlock being a socially stigmatized one. Thus if we use the direct English translational equivalent, the meaning transferred seems comic and somewhat cynical in terms of a more permissive native English context (where such a notion is not, socially, so frowned upon). The terms gotong-royong ("co-operativeness") and rukun-tetangga ("neighbourliness") are another two examples. Gotong-royong refers to the spirit of co-operation amongst people of various ethnic groups (this being a feature characteristic of Malaysian society) - when they put in some joint effort towards a good cause e.g. when they get together to clean the entire vicinity of all the rubbish etc around or in fund-raising efforts towards a local charity home or for the needy. Rukun-tetangga refers to this movement promoted by the government via the local town councils - where

people within a small neighbourhood form little groups and help one another via, for example, regular patrolling of the residential area to prevent petty-thieving. Thus a roster of service is worked out for all eligible people (males) of each area. It is not surprising therefore to hear that one has to have a good nap when he returns home from his heavy day at the office because he has an all-night vigil to keep - i.e. his rukun-tetangga duty: whilst we also have rukun-tetangga officers who are in charge of allocation of such duties.

b. Emotional and Cultural Loading

Some of the borrowings are culturally and emotionally loaded. Thus although translatable into English, such words would lose their culture-bound association. Such referents with identical meanings are not usually present in native English contexts. Further, the indigenous (local) setting and specific socio-linguistic nuances might be dispersed if the English equivalent is used. Thus the local word gives the language the local character - lending more than ever to the Malaysianized nature of the English produced thereby. Some examples of such words are kampung (village), dusun (orchard), bomoh (medicine-man), penghulu (village-chief)

and pantang (taboo). Kampung refers to a village - which in Malaysian contexts would mean a number of wooden houses with thatched or attap roofs and usually on stilts (raised above the ground). Such a kampong is not just limited to land dwelling but to water-villages as well - especially fishing villages (coastal or riverine). Thus the English notion of village - connoting a little hamlet with country-style cottages and the flora and fauna that go with it is altogether out of context here. Likewise the word dusun which means "orchard" - place where fruit trees grow. When used in the Malaysian context, it would mean a heavily forested tropical fruit grove, with thick undergrowth dotted here and there by little pondoks (shelter-stands) (for the fruit-gatherers to rest or to gather their fruits). The words bomoh and penghulu also belong to this category. The bomoh (native medicine-man) - equivalent to the African witch-doctor is the local native healer who purportedly has supernatural powers to deal with a number of circumstances - from curing one of illnesses (by purging him of evil spirits therein - also by professing clairvoyance) to causing some one else to become ill! (if his malevolent clients warrant him to do so, maybe in revenge for some misdeed done previously to them). The penghulu, very simply translated as "village chief" or

"headman", represents one who, unlike the horse-riding sheriff or mayor of English contexts, is almost a father of the villagers - who revere him. Thus besides just holding the title and office of one in charge of a village of people, the penghulu has a role that is far different from that of the mayor or sheriff of any native English context.

c. Semantic Restriction

These are local words with possible English translation but used in a semantically restricted field. For example: dadah (drugs) does not mean drugs in general but is confined to drugs used illicitly - like cocaine, LSD, marijuana - which are often used for illicit drug-taking among youths and which are often smuggled from one country to another within a strong underground network. Thus if we literally translate dadah to mean drugs - then we'd have drug-store (the pharmacy) as dadah-store in Malaysian English (this place would be the first to be seized and closed down by the Malaysian authorities!) In Malaysia, dadah-trafficking (i.e. drug-trafficking) carries a death penalty (this being prominently reminded on all visas given to foreign passport holders). Other lexemes with such semantic restriction are those like haj (pilgrimage, specifically of Muslims, to

Mecca), toddy (fermented coconut-water - different from fresh coconut-water sold as an iced refreshment), and silat (the Malay art of self-defence) - compared to the other equally prevalent martial arts like Taichi, Taekwondo, Jujitsu and Karate. Thus we read of silat-groups and silat-bodies performing at various cultural shows. The word padi (now appearing as 'paddy' in Hornby's ⁶OALDE) also has such semantic restriction - meaning "rice grown in the fields" (unhusked rice). This originally Malay word has now gained enough international currency to become part of the English lexicon. In Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) the notion of rice (which forms the staple diet in the country) takes three lexical referents - padi (unhusked rice), beras (uncooked-husked rice) and nasi (cooked rice). Thus where in normal (native) English usage, the superordinate term 'rice' is used, in the non-native context, rice is represented by the Malaysian equivalents of padi/beras/nasi, depending which stage one refers to. In M.E. therefore, padi is used only to mean unhusked rice (thus padi-field, padi-harvest, padi-cultivation) whereas rice is used to mean both cooked and uncooked rice. (but husked) (as in rice-bowl, rice-meal, rice-sack, rice-grain, rice-mill,).

d. Cultural and Culinary Terms

These are native (local) culinary and domestic referents specifically akin to a characteristic of local origin and ecology. Some such lexemes are durian (from Malay *duri* = thorns, *an* = nominalising suffix: (a thorny fruit with a curd-like fleshy pulp inside), satay (pieces of specially seasoned barbecued meat - barbecued over a charcoal fire and pierced through a coconut-frond skewer) (something akin to kebabs), angpow (red packet of money - as gift during Chinese New Year) extended also to mean any cash donation, kuali (the wok - a special type of deep frying pan), sambal (hot chilli paste), kachang (nuts), mee (noodles) or meehoon (rice vermicilli) and rambutan (a hairy fruit, with fleshy and sweet internal pulp) (from the Malay word "rambut" - hair and "an" nominalising suffix). Such words, similar to the Indian sari and Japanese kimono are now slowly being transported out of the country to at least the South Asian region - viz. the word durian and sambal in Sri Lanka. It is not difficult, therefore, to envisage the international currency of such words which typify the Malaysian culture and cuisine or flora and fauna - especially with the vast number of Malaysians overseas - specially students and professionals doing graduate and post-graduate work in countries where English is native

viz. UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Coupled with this, the number of Malaysian restaurants opened in such countries may well be another disseminating factor. Such a phenomenon of lexical entry - East to West - is not altogether remote if one considers how words like tortilla (Mexican) and croissant (French) and sarong (Malay) have all come to appear in the current English dictionaries.

e. Hyponymous Collocations

Yet another type of lexical indigenization in Malaysian English is the presence of local words collocated with the English superordinate term - hyponymous terms where the English equivalent is the superordinate and the local word is the subordinate referent. Some examples are such words as "meranti wood" (meranti - a species of hard wood used for furniture), "orang asli people" (orang asli - aboriginal people), "batik cloth" (batik - waxed printing designed cloth) "syariah court" (syariah - court for Muslims), "nobat drums" (nobat - royal drums), "bersanding ceremony" (bersanding - wedding/nuptial ceremony) and "path da bhog ceremony" (path da bhog - memorial service).

f. Campus/Student Coinages

These are a few words that have recently come into

M.E. currency - being transported from Bahasa Malaysia due to the change in medium of instruction in education and the subsequent strong influence of this language. Thus students in schools and at campuses use these local referents. Some examples are:

lecheh - meaning "troublesome, inconvenient",
"lazy or reluctant" - because the task involved is inconvenient. Thus a sentence like, "Lecheh-lah! I am not coming back all the way just one hour for this seminar." The word "lecheh" could also be considered a homonym of "leteh" (meaning 'tired').

teruk - meaning "serious" - "in bad shape".
Refers to an extreme situation - for example one who's obtained low grades for his papers - would say that his predicament is "Teruk!".

doongu - meaning "silly, dumb, stupid, foolish".

Used in a sometimes pejorative yet friendly manner among friends. "You doongu you! Why didn't you tell me about it earlier!"

Having summarised the basic characteristics that are inherent in the local borrowings of M.E., it would be interesting to note the extent to which such items can take the morphological processes of English lexemes. But before going further, it should be realised that the above-mentioned characteristics of non-native borrowings are not always in complementary distribution with one another within a lexeme. Thus a specific lexeme could well have characteristic (a) and (b) or another lexeme could have features (a) and (c). It is not predictable which category each of these lexemes definitely falls under. The examples given are representative enough however.

Coming back to the question of the morphological processes operant within such local borrowings into M.E., the three notable processes are compounding, affixation and conversion. Compounding is a very productive process. Thus we have such coinages as "police-pondok" (police

shelter i.e. beat-base), "dadah-ring" (drug ring - i.e. vice-ring), "toddy-can" (similar to beer-can), "satay-house" (similar to pizza-house), and "kwali-cooking" (similar to microwave-cooking). Affixation is also another productive process, although it is not as productive as compounding. The presence of words like "datukship" (datuk-lord - thus similar to lordship), "anti-dadah: (anti-drug i.e. anti-vice), and "ulufied" (ulu - originally meaning source of a river - thus being at the inner reaches of a jungle - hence the associated meaning of "primitiveness/rusticness". Thus "ulufied" - similar to "countrified" - connotes lack of social decorum and civility. Conversion seems to be another possible morphological process as well. Thus we have "makan" as a verb (meaning "eat") as in "Let's makan now" as well as a noun (meaning "meal" or "food") as in "Let's have our makan now". Another example is the lexeme "ulu" as a noun (meaning "the wilds") as in "I don't want a transfer to the ulus" and as an adjective (meaning wild, primitive, rustic) as in "She is an ulu girl". The word "kachang" (nuts) normally referring to peanuts is often denominalised. Thus we can have "I don't eat kachang as it makes me put on weight" (as a noun) as well as "The examination was kachang" (as an adjective) (somewhat idiomatic, meaning

"easy").

A few of these local terms also take on some inflectional processes that are operant in Standard British English viz. pluralization - bomohs, penghulus, dhobis; tense inflections - I "jagaed" his books while he went to the office" (looked after - kept an eye on) and gerundialising - "Jagaing this place is no joke." Another few examples are "angkating" (carry favour) and "kaypoing" (being nosey).

Thus in M.E., there are signs of gradual assimilation of local lexemes into standard English not merely due to non-linguistic criteria but even on the basis of linguistic criteria. It may well be that in the decades to come, such lexemes will gain more currency not only in local contexts but internationally as well, so that dialectal as well as international features can be said to be recognisably Malaysian or of Malaysian origin. The use of local lexemes is to maintain the localised character of the context. There are, however, some Malaysian lexemes which have already gained world-wide currency, words like "sarong" "batik" and "sampan". It is not far-fetched to envisage further such assimilation into Standard English -

if one realises how "kayak", "kebab", "karate", "monsoon" "catamaran" and "harmattan" - all of which are from definitely un-English contexts have now been absorbed and are now included in most of the Standard English dictionaries.

B. Standard English Lexicalization (- English lexemes with Local Usage)

The M.E. speaker also has a tendency to use some of the standard English lexemes in a manner particularly characteristic of not only Malaysian English, but also of Ghanaian English (Sey 1973), Nigerian English (Bamgbose, 1971) and Indian English (Kachru, 1965). The lexemes may not be identical across all three varieties but some of the general characteristics still hold. The basic characteristics of lexical variation (of standard English) in M.E. are:

- a. Polysemic variation.
- b. Semantic restriction.
- c. Informalisation.
- d. Formalisation.
- e. Directional Reversal.
- f. College colloquialism.

a. Polysemic Variation

These are standard English lexemes that have the original English meaning as well as an extended semantic range of meanings not originally in standard English. One such example is the verb 'cut', which, besides carrying the original meaning of 'slicing', carries the following meanings:- overtake (of vehicles as well as in running) - as in "I tried to cut him but he was driving too fast" or in "The anchor-man (last runner in a relay) managed to cut Singapore's anchor just twenty metres before breasting the tape."

- beat (to beat an opponent by points, marks) as in "Rahman cut me by only two marks to become the first boy in class."
- reduce (an amount of money) as in "The shopkeeper cut twenty-cents for that breakage when he gave me back the change."

Other examples of lexemes with such semantic extension are:

open - as for blinds, curtains (draw)

- as for light (switch on) (and all electrical appliances, e.g. radio, fan, television)

- as for shoes/socks (remove)
- as for tap (turn on)
- as for clothes (take off) (undress)
- as for zip/buttons/hooks (unfasten).

The similar extension holds for the antonym of this lexeme - i.e. 'close' - as applied to the same referents. Yet another few examples are listed below:

- call - invite (I'll call him for tonight's dinner).
- ask ("Can you please call her to come here?")
 - order (The teacher called the boy out).
 - re-employ (If they call me back, I'd rather
not go as I might be getting
another job soon).

aunty/uncle - refers to any elderly or older person of long-standing acquaintance (used by young Malaysians as term of respect). Such honorific terms are a frequent phenomenon in M.E. - a "cousin", for example, need not necessarily be a cousin by birth - but any closely known friend or relative. Likewise a brother or a sister-in-law is not merely in fact a relative through marriage only, but refers to the extension of such

relationships to more than just the immediate circle of relatives.

- occupy - live (e.g. in a house). (They occupy that big house at the corner).
- use (e.g. a room) (e.g. She is occupying the last room in that house).
- take up (e.g. of time/space) (These experiments occupy a lot of my time).
- bungalow - single or a double storey detached house.
- shillings - coins/change (of money).
- chase - to court/to woo (usually a boy is said to "chase" a girl).
- students - pupils (primary), students (sec) & undergraduates (tertiary).
- outstation - out of town (but within the country still).

These are only a few of the many instances of semantic extension that is common in M.E. These could be considered as attempts at lowering the learning load of the M.E. speaker as well as achieving the communicative effect faster - by simplifying and using one lexeme to mean and refer to many things.

b. Semantic Restriction

Some of the lexemes in M.E. are used in a narrower sense, confined to specific referents only. Some noteworthy examples are the lexemes "windy", "heaty" and "cooling" as applied to foods and drinks. The Asians (in the Malaysian context, Malays, Chinese and Indians) generally have the notion of certain foods being too 'windy' for the body. Excess of such foods, therefore, is considered to cause flatulence, discomfort and gastric problems. Pulses (lentils) are one variety of foods which cause such 'windy' effects. Likewise, 'heaty' foods like spicy, oily curries, coffee, certain fruits and vegetables are also avoided in excess. The same goes for 'cooling' foods - which are taken to counteract the after-effects of excess of 'heaty' foods. Such 'cooling' foods are fruits and vegetables like cucumber, brinjals and salads; herbal teas and juices. Another example of restricted reference is the lexeme 'tuck-shop' - referring specifically to the canteen or refectory of schools (primary and secondary). This may well be a word of little general frequency in B.E. these days but is still very common in the Malaysian context. Likewise, is the word 'coffee-shop' specifically referring to the shop that sells refreshments, light snacks and sweets but which has small tables and chairs (for light

meals) with a front opening out on to the 'five-foot way' (pavement) - yet another word confined to mean the sidewalk in front of shops. An often-used term especially among younger Malaysians is 'one kind' - meaning 'wierd or peculiar' (odd) or 'way out' - as in "She is one kind, really, - won't even smile at you although she knows you" or as in "She's a one-kind girl - drives a Triumph TR 7 to school itself!"

c. Informalisation

Many of the lexemes used by the M.E. speaker tend to be informal (colloquial) substitutions of standard English words. As has been stated earlier, M.E. in its most representative state is of widest currency among the mesolectal speakers (the lexicon particularly generated on the more informal speech level). Thus it is not surprising to find a profusion of lexemes indicating a more informal style and register - words like 'kids' (for children) or "hubby" (for husband) appearing in headlines style in the standard English local dailies - as in "Eight kids burnt to death as fire guts Kampung Jawa," and "Amok woman stabs hubby". Other such examples are:

partner - spouse (You and your partner are
 cordially invited for cocktails on
 Thursday).

flick	- steal
line	- profession
fellow	- person (both male and female)
sleep	- go to bed
link house	- terrace house
campus/varsity	- college/lectures
spoilt	- out of order
hold on	- hold the line, wait a minute (hang on)
follow	- accompany
see (of film, t.v. pictures)	- watch
stay/put up	- live
spend	- give a treat (I spend you today - since it is your birthday).

d. Formalisation

On the other hand, there are occasions as well, when the M.E. speaker has a tendency to use more formal words in an informal context. What Sey (1973) terms "Preciosity" (of Ghanaian English) and Goffin (1934) terms "Latinity" (of Indian English). It is not rare, therefore, to read letters of a personal nature asking a friend to "furnish me(him) with the details regarding the Cosmos tours" (instead of "provide me" or "send me"). Likewise a

friend may ask me, "Did you witness the accident last night along Jalan Bangsar?" (instead of "see") or someone may be busy this weekend as he is "shifting house" (instead of "moving house"). Other lexemes commonly used in this way are:

scrutinise - for examine, study (as in "He scrutinised the college prospectus before filling in the form.")

residence - for house (as in "My residence is in Lorong Travers.")

It would not be wrong perhaps to postulate that such use of lexemes may not always be a mixture of levels as much as a matter of collocational confusion. Thus instead of "exercising one's right or power" we may come across someone exercising one's duties (instead of performing or carrying out one's duties). Likewise one often hears that "The wound is not cured yet." (when it is not 'healed' yet actually!) or that "Cancer is not a disease that can be healed." (cured). Other such examples are:

rob - for steal (as in "She was noted for robbing people's slippers outside the temple.")

box - for hit (as in "Bahman boxed Nazir on his back.")

e. Directional Reversal

There are certain lexemes, verbs mostly, that M.E. speakers tend to use in reverse direction. This is a frequent phenomenon with converse pairs like go/come, bring/send, fetch/take and borrow/lend. Pure converse pairs, like borrow/lend, tend to be confused one for the other. This could be attributed to the absence of two separate lexemes in the local language for such a meaning. In Bahasa Malaysia, the concepts of borrow and lend are subsumed under one lexeme "pinjam"/pindʒam/. Thus we can have sentences like, "Saya meminjam buku itu"/saja mɛmindʒʌm buku iəu/- meaning "I lent or borrowed that book", (to and from someone) as well as "Saya meminjamkan buku itu"/saja mɛ mindʒʌmkan buku iəu/- meaning "I lent that book (to someone)". Thus the difference between the meanings of "borrow" and "lend" is shown by the suffix 'kan'/'kan/, performing a benefactive function here. Thus the borrow/lend dichotomy is very often confused so that we have sentences like "She borrowed me her camera" or "He always likes to lend my books." Further sentences would also show collocational confusion between objects to these verbs as in:

"She wanted to borrow some cheese from me."

"He came to borrow my phone as his was out-of-order."

"They lent her some bread," where cheese, phone and bread are items that cannot be returned after use or consumption. (They can be replaced - at least - bread and cheese, but not returned).

The bidirectional verbs "go", "come", "bring", "take", "fetch" and "send" are very often used in the opposite manner in M.E. Thus we often hear sentences like:

"We'll go over to your house to-night." (come)

"Can you send me home first?" (take)

"She brings her son to school every morning." (takes)

"Maznah has to fetch her mother to her aunt's place." (take)

"I take my daughter here everyday." (bring)

Thus where standard English lexicon would have the verbs go, send and take, meaning action away from the place, whilst come and bring would indicate action towards the place, and fetch shows action away from them towards the place, M.E. usage seems to indicate the reverse in directional terms.

f. College Colloquialism

The student population being a major area of M.E. usage, it is inevitable that certain standard English

lexemes have been localised for informal use especially among students in school (secondary), at colleges (tertiary) and universities. Such words related to studies, examinations and youth are earlier abbreviated or idiomatised and used in context - specific situations. Thus we often hear of the mugger or book-worm - one who is very hard-working or studious (also known as a snake-temple specialist - snake-temple referring to the library, a snake being one who studies hard but appears deceptively careless or apathetic about his studies). Other examples of such college colloquialism are clippings like frus (frustrated) -

fantas (fantastic)

fantab (fantabulous) (a blend of "fantastic" plus "fabulous") and sabo (sabotage) - meaning to teasingly deride someone. Cheap-skate is yet another lexeme referring to a person who is willing to do anything to achieve his aims (will demean himself to get his goals).

Other examples -

lost case - one who is beyond redemption or incorrigibly below standard - in terms of social as well as educational norms; worst type - a somewhat friendly, intimate term for criticising a close colleague;

cow sense - applied to one who is gullible and not critically aware of the goings-on in campus;

tripod-stand - one who tries to carry favour (be in the good books of) with persons in position, to get things done;

lamp-post - a third party in a threesome, in a preferably two-some situation - viz. a "gooseberry" (in Standard English idiom) - accompanying a courting couple.

(vii) THE PRESENT STUDY

a. PREVIOUS WORKS ON MALAYSIAN ENGLISH

Among the recent attempts at describing Malaysian/Singaporean English, only a sprinkling have any substantial study of the syntactic elements of variation. The works of a general nature come for a large part from non-Malaysians such as Crewe (1977), Tongue (1974) and Richards (1977) whilst Platt et al (1980, 1984) have a more detailed description of this variety, with only a slightly more in-depth study of the structural aspect as well. Another interesting study, although not of syntax but of phonology of the English of Singapore, is Lucille Ramish's "Investigation" (1969) where she relates the phonological features of Singapore English to the linguistic substrata of Bahasa Malaysia, Tamil and Chinese, on similar lines (if different only from phonology to syntax) with the present study.

Among the studies done by Malaysian or Singaporean linguists themselves, Irene Wong's (1981) seems to be the most thorough where the structural elements of variation are concerned. Mary Tay's attempt (1981) at describing Standard Singapore English is representative enough

although where syntax is concerned, there is still room for a more detailed linguistic study. Augustin's (1980) and Ting's (1980) reports are somewhat cursory and lack linguistic detail, although for a general sociolinguistic impression, these are sufficient. de Silva's paper (1981) on the modals is very thorough and gives a truly representative picture of the simplification process, even if confined only to the modals.

Other attempts that could be considered related are Elaine Wijesuria's thesis (1972) on "the grammatical structures of English and Malay - a contrastive analysis of phrase structure," Siew Yue Killingley's thesis (1965) on Malaysian English (on phonological, grammatical and lexical lines), Senthelakshmi's academic exercise (1969) on problems of Chinese speakers in learning the English tense and Augustin's thesis (1976) on "teaching Reading comprehension to Malay undergraduates through syntactic analysis". Most of these are thorough in their approach to the topic, but still do not deal with Malaysian English syntax in entirety. They are, however, attempts at describing some aspect of syntax in relation to English in the Malaysian context.

Generally speaking, therefore, in consideration of the fact that most of these works are papers or reports of very little length-other than Platt's comparatively more thorough attempt (and the related theses quoted above), it is understandable that the area of structural features has not been given full impetus - although it is in this very sphere that the most significant differences make Malaysian English what it actually is.

b. AIMS AND SCOPE OF PRESENT STUDY:

It is with this in mind that this study of some of the aspects of Malaysian English syntax was undertaken. The thesis makes no claim at exhaustiveness or authority but is a conservative though deliberated description of the state of the language. It is not a prescriptive or normative study either. The main aim of the study is to simply describe each of the non-British aspects of the syntax of English used by the average Malaysian in informal (and sometimes semi-formal) contexts, that is, at the mesolectal level.

It must be pointed out, however, that the very same speaker who uses the acrolectal variety at one instance may well switch onto the mesolectal level at the

very next instance so that some features can permeate both levels. It would be pertinent, at this juncture, to have some background knowledge of the writer who is a typical example of a Malaysian who switches from one lect to the other with such ease and frequency that it would sometimes be difficult to imagine how the very same person who speaks typically 'Malaysian' English is also capable of producing Standard British English in her speech and writing.

The writer is of Tamil mother-tongue origin, born and bred in Malaysia, into the third generation in the country. Her languages are Tamil and English, which are of equal significance. Schooling was done in an English-medium school throughout, with Bahasa Malaysia used consistently as second language. Besides the normal curriculum with Bahasa Malaysia as a taught language, added impetus and exposure was always maintained by way of elocution contests, drama, essay-writing and song-writing competitions, debates and quizzes in which she participated very actively-right from primary through to secondary and post-secondary school. At University, besides English (Language/Literature), Malay Studies and Indian Studies were the other options taken for the first degree. As for the Diploma in Education, English and Bahasa Malaysia were

the methodology subjects taken. My teaching in secondary schools after this therefore covered both English and Bahasa Malaysia. After teaching in schools, I taught English (Language) at an Institute of Technology (MARA). My MA thesis, which was done, after a coursework Diploma in TESL, in the United Kingdom, was on prefixation in Bahasa Malaysia. From 1978 (after the MA) I have been teaching mainly on the Diploma ESL course (in Methodology and Linguistics) at the University of Malaya. Along with this, some occasional teaching of English (Language) to undergraduates in the Arts and Economics faculties was also done.

Thus as far as formal training and experience goes the writer is considered one from an acrolectal level, who undoubtedly uses such English in formal contexts. But once an informal situation warrants it, the mesolectal version is in use - for example, with colleagues in conversation over tea, or in letters of a personal nature.

In describing some of the aspects of syntactic difference between Standard British English and Malaysian English, an attempt has been made to show the possibility of influence from the substrate languages. The main

language used here is Bahasa Malaysia. This is based on two criteria mainly:

(i) As mentioned previously, the population ratio is in the order: Malays (50%), Chinese (35%), Indians (10%), Others (5%). This being so, the number of Bahasa Malaysia speakers from the Malay group is biggest. Thus based just on these figures alone, the influence from Bahasa Malaysia could be expected to be substantial, although actual quantitative studies have not been done to prove this yet.

(ii) Coupled with this is the fact that even among the Chinese and Indians (as well as "the others"), with Bahasa Malaysia being the official language generally and the medium of instruction in education, it is sometimes even more in use by these speakers than their own mother-tongue. Thus the subsequent influence of Bahasa Malaysia on the English spoken by the non-Malays can at times be considered even more substantial than that exerted by Chinese or Tamil.

The situation being such, the study focusses on the factor of interlingual influence of Bahasa Malaysia. The other language discussed in terms of possible influence is Tamil. This is because the writer is a native speaker of Tamil. Therefore the two languages above are discussed because the writer is a native speaker of one and a

near-native speaker of the other.

The other language which holds potential as an influencing factor is Chinese, considering the proportion of Chinese in the population ratio. However, in this study, it is not included for the simple reason that the writer

- (i) is not a native speaker of the language and
- (ii) has not had any formal instruction in the language either (in contrast to Bahasa Malaysia).

This does not preclude the fact that some of the aspects of variation discussed in the thesis could well have Chinese as their source of influence as well. The absence of the copula in certain syntactic environments in Chinese, for example, could be additionally contributive (along with the same situation in Bahasa Malaysia and Tamil) to the absence of such a copula in ME. Then again, as Tay (1977:147) too confirms, it could be postulated that the grammatical particle "la" in ME has its source from Hokkien (a dialect of Chinese), although Bahasa Malaysia also has a suffix of equally significant import and function.

All in all, one can say that the substrate languages have their influencing role on the syntax of ME in various permutations and combinations. But as Platt and Weber (1980 : 65) too agree, "it would be wrong to trace all characteristics of M/SE to the local background languages as every interlanguage and every emerging new variety develops its own system, which is, to some extent, independent of the background languages".

This study therefore describes ME in terms of structural differences in comparison with Standard British English. British English is used as the norm purely because it is still the grammar of this Standard English (though not the phonology) that is aimed at on the acrolectal level (viz. programmed instruction, official media, locally organised international conferences and the like).

c. SOURCES OF DATA:

The results and findings in this study are culled from various types of sources. The primary sources are:

i. Written and spoken language observations of:

(a) Postgraduate in-service English Language teachers.

- (b) Undergraduate students.
- (c) Secondary school pupils.
- ii. Entry and diagnostic test sheets of in-service (Postgraduate) English language teachers.
- iii. Official statements and reports in the Press.
- iv. General local press language, as in
 - (a) advertisements.
 - (b) news items.
 - (c) editorials.
 - (d) comic strips/cartoons.
 - (e) film reviews.
- v. Contents of local radio and television programmes.
 - (a) official programmes.
 - (b) casual/colloquial programmes.
- vi. General observations in the other domains not previously mentioned - both official and semi- or un-official of
 - (a) professionals-accountants, lawyers, engineers etc.
 - (b) semiprofessionals-clerks, press reporters, policemen, administrative officers, court interpreters, laboratory technicians etc.
 - (c) subprofessionals-shopkeepers, petrol kiosk-attendants, salesmen, drivers, waiters etc.

The sentence examples and findings from these sources were then categorised on a structural basis. From this list, a checklist of fifty sentences was used on a random scale in the form of a questionnaire survey, described below, distributed to ESL teachers and University clerks. This checklist was analysed in direct reference to the syntactical nature of the thesis topic—to see how many of these sentence examples were considered "right" (thus "Malaysianised") and "wrong" (thus not "Malaysianised").

Along with these basic corpus sources, personal observation and intuition have been used as a data source as well. The writer's observations and intuitions about the nature of variation and the general topic of indigenization are the overall impressions formed over the fourteen years of teaching experience in the ESL context, not to mention several decades of living in Malaysia.

The Questionnaire:

(a) Subjects of the Questionnaire:

The questionnaire was administered to two groups of informants at the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. They were:

- (a) 70 post-graduate in-service ESL teachers.

(b) 10 clerical staff members of the Establishment Division of the University's Administrative Department.

The number of ESL teachers was obtained from the batch of students for the academic year 1985/86. These are teachers from all the states in Malaysia. This group is representative of the situation in almost all the previous and subsequent year's groups of teachers.

Teachers were chosen mainly to show that although they are teachers of English (and therefore should be critically aware of any changes or elements of variation), they too are participants in the indigenization process.

The trend observed in the teacher group is indicative of similar patterns of indigenization among other domains and seems to confirm my personal opinion of the situation as well. That there is some degree of indigenization cannot be denied at all with the figures supportive of such a phenomenon.

The same applies to the second group. Due to constraints of time, the number of informants from this clerical group was one-seventh that of the teacher group.

However, it may be representative enough of the trends in the socio-linguistic situation under consideration. The members of this group were mostly MCE qualified informants (MCE is the Malaysian Certificate of Education, equivalent to the GCE O' level qualification), although not all of them were necessarily holders of a pass in the subject English Language at that level.

As for the background information, the main items of information obtained from the teacher-group were:

- (a) the mother-tongue (whether BM, Chinese, Tamil, English).
- (b) the medium of instruction the education was received in (Bahasa Malaysia; English or others - B.M. + Eng; B.M. + Tamil).
- (c) the highest level of educational qualification attained - University (1st) degree, Higher School Certificate (A 'Level), Malaysian Certificate of Education (O' Level), Lower Certificate of Education (mid-secondary).
- (d) level of teaching experience - Upper Secondary, Lower Secondary, Primary.
- (e) number of years of teaching experience - more than ten, eight to ten, five to seven (none of them had less than five years teaching experience as this is an inservice course).

The main items of information gathered from the clerical group were just the first three of the above.

In the teacher group, the breakdown of mother-tongue composition was as follows:

TABLE 1: MOTHER-TONGUE COMPOSITION (TEACHERS)

Bahasa Malaysia	- 36%
Chinese	- 27%
Indian languages	- 34%
English	- 3%

Where English is the mother-tongue, it would be the case where either one of the parents is of occidental ancestry, the informant therefore being classified as a Eurasian, having (European + Asian) parentage. Such ancestry need not necessarily be only English, it could well be Dutch, French or German etc, but the English Language then inevitably becomes the hearth language in the Asian context.

As for the medium of instruction the education was received in, the breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 2: MEDIUM OF EDUCATION (TEACHERS)

English	- 93%
Bahasa Malaysia	3%

Others - 4% (1% - Eng + B.M.; 3% - Eng + Tamil). Where

there is a combination of (Eng + Tamil) or (Eng. + B.M.) it would mean that the informant had his/her primary education in Tamil or Bahasa Malaysia and then switched on to the English medium of education at the secondary level.

The academic qualifications of this teacher group were in the order:

TABLE 3: ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS (TEACHERS)

University degree - 7%

Higher School Certificate - 25%

Malaysian Certificate of Education - 68%

Each of these levels have their corresponding teacher training qualifications as well - i.e. the professional qualification was complementary to the academic qualification.

As for the level of school teaching experienced by these teachers, the following was the breakdown:

TABLE 4: LEVEL OF TEACHING (TEACHERS)

Upper Secondary - 13%

Lower Secondary - 25%

Primary - 62%

The number of years of teaching experience was recorded in terms of:

TABLE 5: YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE (TEACHERS)

More than ten years - 13%

Eight to ten years - 29%

Five to seven years - 59%

The background information of the clerical group was as follows:

TABLE 6: Mother-tongue (CLERKS)

Bahasa Malaysia - 60%

Chinese - 30%

Indian Languages - 10%

TABLE 7: Medium of Instruction of Education: (CLERKS)

English - 80%

Bahasa Malaysia - 20%

TABLE 8: Highest Educational Qualification: (CLERKS)

H.S.C. - 20%

M.C.E. - 70%

L.C.E. - 10%

Thus putting the two groups together, the ethnic composition was as follows:

TABLE 9: ETHNIC COMPOSITION (TEACHERS AND CLERKS)

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Malays	36%	60%
Chinese	27%	30%
Indians	34%	10%
Others (English)	3%	-

It will be noticed that where the teacher group had an almost equal distribution of BM versus Indian language speakers (36/34%), with Chinese coming third in order, the clerical group had a larger proportion of Bahasa Malaysia speakers (60%) as opposed to 10% of Indian language speakers whilst Chinese is the mother-tongue of 30% of this group. Bahasa Malaysia speakers are badly under represented as far as the teacher-group is concerned, when compared with the population ratio of Malays.

Where medium of education received is concerned, both groups are similar in that English medium informants form the bulk of the group (93% and 80% respectively). This is an interesting observation as one would think that

elements of indigenization would be more significant in those who have undergone the BM medium of education. Thus if this group of informants in which the majority had undergone the English medium of education has such a degree of indigenization in the syntax of their English, it would not be wrong to envisage an even greater degree of indigenization in those who have undergone the BM medium of education, although this has not been quantitatively proved, this therefore being an interesting aspect for further research.

As for educational qualifications, where the teacher group has a small 7% of University qualified informants, the clerical group (understandably so), does not have this, although the other figures are somewhat parallel (25% and 20% of HSC holders respectively) with the bulk of them in the MCE level (68% and 70% respectively). There is also the LCE group among the clericals (10%) which is not present in the teacher group.

(b) Contents of the Questionnaire:

As for the questionnaire itself, it contained a set of fifty sentences. These sentences contained some elements of the syntactic phenomena discussed in the core chapters of the thesis, in the order:

- (a) Individuation e.g. There were two registered mails at the office.
- (b) Article Ellipsis e.g. She asked for - transfer to K.L.
- (c) Pronominal Concord e.g. He bought two pairs of socks but had misplaced it.
- (d) "Already" as Aspectual marker e.g. She went to Penang already.
- (e) Tense and Remoteness e.g. MARA students have been on strike last week.
- (f) Progressivity and Stativity e.g. The Rahims are owning two houses in Pantai.
- (g) Modals e.g. Would you lend us your torch for a while?

Each of these sentences contained one structure of indigenization and these structures were taken from examples obtained from previous corpus sources. Sentences 21 - 25 however had no element of indigenization - they were dialectally neutral sentences (Standard) but listed in juxtaposition after sentences 16 - 20 to show the element of differentiation made in so far as the living/non-living dichotomy for pronominal concord is concerned.

(c) Methodology of the Questionnaire:

The informants were given one of these sheets each and were asked to mark in each sentence, what they found "odd", and to "correct" or change them to what they thought was the "proper" form of that structure. Thus where any sentence had any change made by the testee [e.g. if in the sentence "Her jewelleries are exclusive", "jewelleries" is either underlined or changed to "jewellery", with or without a change in the verb "are"], this sentence is marked with an X (not acceptable for my analysis). X meaning "unacceptable" refers to the testee's not seeing it as acceptable - in other words it is not an element of indigenization. If, on the other hand, the same sentence had no alteration or query mark whatsoever to the structure in question, it is considered acceptable in my analysis - i.e. it is a structure of indigenization. However, in each sentence, the classification X or ✓ was noted down only with reference to the structure concerned - so that even if some other element was underlined or queried (and not the particular structure related to the topic in question), this was disregarded.

(d) Results of the Questionnaire:

In the analysis of the eighty sheets the main and final elements that were sought out were:

- (i) the detailed range of acceptance of specified structures (i.e. the degree of indigenization as seen in each sentence example).
- (ii) the overall average degree of acceptance of these structures (as categorised in the various types of variational phenomena viz. individuation, article ellipsis etc).
- (iii) the detailed range of individual indigenization (i.e. the degree of indigenization as seen in each individual).
- (iv) the overall range of individual indigenization.

In all the findings, the results of the teacher group were placed in comparison with that of the clerical group to observe any notable differences between the two groups.

Generally speaking, the overall average degree of acceptance of the specified structures was higher for the individuation, article ellipsis, pronominal concord elements plus "already" (as aspectual marker) with the clerical group. On the other hand, the sentences with the tense/aspect, stativity/progressivity phenomena and the modals, were very highly accepted by the teacher-group.

This is an interesting situation where the seemingly less significant changes are more accepted by the clerks whilst the more significant changes (as in tense, stativity and modals) are not as highly accepted by them. On the other hand, the odd situation occurs with the teachers where the less significant changes are not as highly accepted as are the more significant ones (viz. tense, stativity, modals). The informants being particularly teachers (and English language teachers at that), one would be likely to think that the area of verb phrase structure would be more carefully considered where acceptability is concerned, whilst elements like article ellipsis and individuation would be more acceptable. Although actual quantitative work on a large-scale has not been done in this area, it would be interesting to speculate if this is a general trend and whether this means that those who know less, "guard" their language more, whilst those who know more tend to accept indigenization more. This is a topic for further research with proper empirical evidence that would reveal interesting results. The breakdown of the results obtained in my small-scale study is as follows:

TABLE 10: AVERAGE DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF INDIGENIZED
STRUCTURES:

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
(a) Individuation	48%	68%
(b) Article Ellipsis	44%	57%
(c) Pronominal Concord	10%	61%
(d) "Already" as Aspectual Marker	51%	100%
(e) Tense/Remoteness	72%	47%
(f) Stativity/Progressivity	70%	57%
(g) Modals	86%	24%

The overall degree of indigenization (in each individual) was most in the region of 40% - 60% (in both the teacher group as well as the clerical group). There were very few with the degree of indigenization above 80% - in fact only one among the teachers and none among the clerks. Likewise the other way around - only two of the teacher group informants had a score below 20% and one of the clerks had a similar score, which also shows that there is generally some element of indigenization in most of the informants - at least 20%. The following table would show this trend:

TABLE 11: OVERALL DEGREE OF INDIVIDUAL INDIGENIZATION

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Above 80%	1	
70 - 80%	8	
60 - 70%	11	
50 - 60%	19	1
40 - 50%	18	5
30 - 40%	9	3
20 - 30%	2	
Below 20%	2	1

The list of sentences used in the questionnaire-test is given overleaf.

THE SAMPLE SENTENCES IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

INDIVIDUATION:

1. Her jewelleries are exclusive.
2. There were two registered mails at the office.
3. Are there any furnitures in your flat?
4. Three soaps were left in the sink.

ARTICLE ELLIPSIS:

5. Crime rate is increasing in this country.
6. They recorded highest temperature this season as 90°F.
7. They did not want to get into such situation.
8. She asked for transfer to K.L.
9. Last week I went for piano recital at Civic Centre.
10. Eileen is best friend of Ramlah.

PRONOMINAL CONCORD:

11. There were many torn books so I sent it for repair.
12. He juggled the plates as if it were just a handful of beads.
13. She dropped all the pins on the floor, spending hours picking it up later.
14. The newspapers were on the chair, but he didn't notice it.
15. He bought two pairs of socks but had misplaced it.

(NEUTRAL EXAMPLES): (16-20)

16. The roses were faded so I threw them away.
17. There were many ants on the floor, thus we poured insecticide over them.
18. Bacteria are present everywhere, it's hard to detect them.
19. There are many kinds of fungi, they're common in the jungle.
20. Blood cells multiply very fast; Rani's making a study of them.
21. These books are very interesting. Its contents demand concentrated reading tho'.
22. I bought some dresses from Globe's yesterday but its patterns don't really suit me, so I'll return it tomorrow.
23. The bicycles that were parked by the bus-stop were damaged completely - its owners were entirely to be blamed.
24. These facts speak for itself.
25. Have you seen the pianos itself?
26. These books explain itself very well.

TENSE AND REMOTENESS

27. Although they had not saved enough for a holiday, they are planning to go to Europe.
28. I live in Ampang Jaya but from March this year I had been staying with my cousin in Setapak.

29. With all the experience he had obtained at the University Hospital, he should be a very suitable candidate for the post.
30. These are the photographs I had taken at the party.
31. Mazlan will not celebrate Hari Raya this year as his father had passed away in January this year.
32. She had gone to Europe last year for training and is now back for good.
33. She has been reminded of the meeting yesterday.
34. The directors of MAS have finalised the flight details during last night's meeting.
35. MARA students have been on strike last week.

"ALREADY"

36. She went to Penang already.
37. I worked in K.L. for 10 years already.
38. They informed her already about the change in plans.

STATIVITY AND PROGRESSIVITY

39. She is feeling sleepy.
40. The Rahims are owning two houses in Pantai.
41. Zainab is having a cold.
42. I am hearing strange noises outside - wonder what they are.

MODALS

43. This year all MCE students would take the oral examinations in June.

44. Rahman would fly down to K.L. next week.
45. Would you lend us your torch for a while?
46. If you come home late, you would be locked out.
47. You could do whatever you like, it doesn't really matter.
48. She is a linguist who could speak in at least four languages.
49. Although he could go there by car, Leong is planning to take a flight down.
50. Hamzah is sending the photographs early so that Rosli could order the copies immediately.

CHAPTER II - NP STRUCTURE

I - INDIVIDUATION IN M.E.

II - ARTICLE ELLIPSIS

III - PERSONAL PRONOMINAL CONCORD

"INDIVIDUATION IN M.E."

The term "individuation" is used in this context to refer to the individuating and pluralising, in Malaysian English, of a normally uncountable noun. In Standard British English, the uncountable nouns are those that are singular in form but have plural meaning. Such nouns do not co-occur with the indefinite articles nor with the numeral quantifiers (one, two, three etc.) or the quantifiers few, many and several. They can co-occur with the quantifiers little, much, more and are individualized by the use of classifiers like item, piece, article and bit. Examples of such nouns are equipment, furniture, jewellery and mail.

Huddleston (1984: 247) defines 'countability' in terms of the mass/individuated dichotomy - "an uncountable noun cannot bear an individuated interpretation. For example, with equipment, information and the like, if we wish to talk about one or more individual units, we have to use expressions like a piece of equipment, a piece of information. Each of these consists of a mass NP embedded inside an individuated NP - just as in a piece of cake where the NP cake has the mass interpretation (substance) not the individuated one (unit)... It should be noted that this property of equipment and information

is a contingent fact about English."

It is this contingent fact that is changed completely in M.E. In M.E. such nouns are pluralised and used as countable nouns. Along with such nouns that are pluralised in M.E. are also examples like soap, chalk, toast and fruit(?) which are normally considered mass nouns in B.E. Some examples are:

B.E. Her jewellery is exclusive.

M.E. Her jewelleries are exclusive.

B.E. She lost three pieces of jewellery.

M.E. She lost three jewelleries.

B.E. This morning's mail has been delayed.

M.E. This morning's mails have been delayed.

B.E. There were two items of registered mail at the office.

M.E. There were two registered mails at the office.

B.E. Is there any furniture in your flat?

M.E. Are there any furnitures in your flat?

B.E. Forty articles of furniture were damaged in transit.

M.E. Forty furnitures were damaged in transit.

B.E. Three cakes of soap were left in the sink.

M.E. Three soaps were left in the sink.

Such a tendency to pluralise uncountable nouns can be explained by considering some of the aspects of grammatical number in English. The parameters relevant to such individuation in M.E. are "collectivity" and "mass". Cutting across these two aspects are other semantic criteria which will be discussed consequently.

The term "collective" as used by traditional linguists and grammarians has included nouns like:

- (a) people, clergy, police, cattle.
- (b) army, herd, flock, board, committee, family.
- (c) furniture, jewellery, equipment, clothing,
luggage;

For the present purposes I shall use the terms "people type" nouns for the (a) type nouns, "army type" nouns for the (b) type nouns and "furniture type" nouns for the (c) type nouns. In all these nouns, a number of things collected together are regarded as a single entity, except that in (a) the noun has a plural referent, thus taking plural pronominal reference and verb concord, whereas in (b) the noun can have both a singular as well as a plural referent. Thus the possibility of both

singular and plural verb concord - depending on whether the noun referent is viewed as a single entity (a unit) or in terms of the composite individuals, as in:

"The board has decided to postpone its meeting."

"The board have decided that they are not going to allow themselves to be fooled this time."

The demonstrative pronoun in such examples, however, is in the singular - "this board, that army", whereas in the "people" type examples we have the plural demonstrative pronoun - "these people, those cattle". Poutsma (1914) explains that the "people" type examples are those containing ideas "without limits" whilst the "army" type examples are those expressing ideas "within limits". Thus where the "people" type examples have a (plural) collective sense but not the meaning of a single collective unit, the "army" type examples contain a (single) collective sense as well as the meaning of a single collective unit - "an army, a herd".

The "furniture" type examples - nouns like furniture and equipment are considered collective and yet, unlike the "people" type examples, do not take plural quantification on a countable basis (*many furniture, two hundred equipment, fifty jewellery) although mass quantification is possible (much furniture, a lot of equipment). They are not treated in the

sense of a unit either (as are the "army" type examples) - (* a furniture, a jewellery). These nouns are, in B.E., considered as having singular collective referents hence the corresponding singular verb concord and pronominal reference:

(i) This mail consists of numerous registered letters and parcels.

*These mail consist of numerous registered letters and parcels.

(ii) All this machinery is to go to the scrapyard soon.

*All these machinery are to go to the scrapyard soon.

But it is questionable why when nouns like the "people" type examples can take plural referents with plural concord:

"These people are survivors of the Second World War."

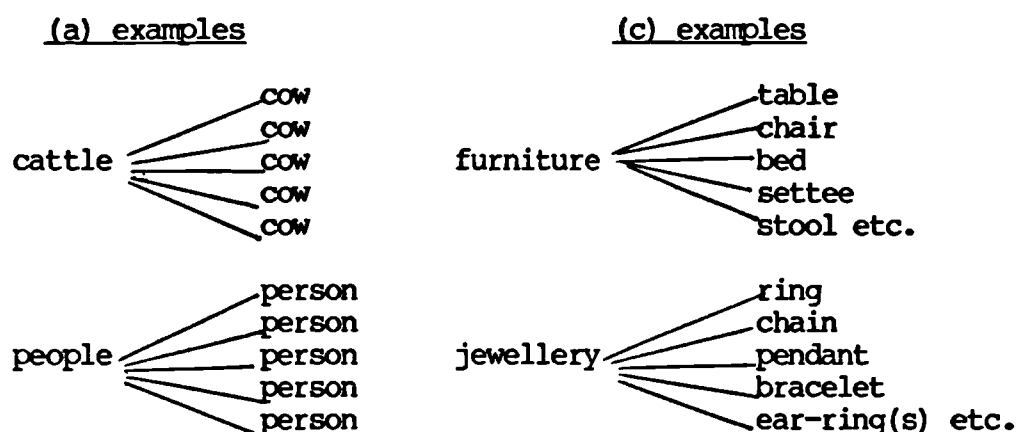
"Twenty thousand cattle have been afflicted by the foot-and-mouth disease";

there is no acceptance in B.E., of identical structures co-occurring with the "furniture" type examples. The only two criteria that seem to surface are not syntactic but semantic:

(i) The "people" type examples are animate whereas the "furniture" type examples are inanimate.

(ii) The "people" type examples have homogenous composite members whereas the "furniture" type examples have heterogenous composite members. This can be

represented thus:

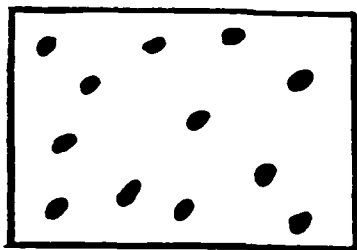


The "people" type examples being different from the "furniture" type examples allows for the countability potential of such nouns in B.E. Thus, the well-marked distinction that exists in B.E. between cattle, people and jewellery, furniture, is a distinction not only grammatical but also semantic (viz. the animate, inanimate distinction). This perceived salient animateness in nouns like cattle and people is reflected in the grammar of B.E. which allows for such countable and plural determiner concord (many cattle, two hundred police). The animate organism is more likely to be taken as an individual, such animate nouns thus allowing for quantification and plural concord. In M.E. this discrimination is not present - there is no semantic manifestation of such preference. Whether the noun refers to a living or non-living

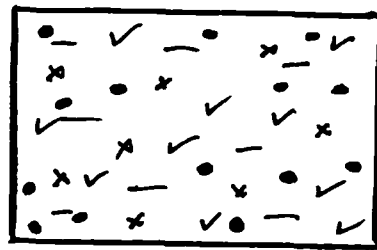
referent, M.E. goes on the basis that if the noun people can take the demonstrative (determiner) pronoun these, then why not furniture and even more so, when the parallel is further drawn, from the countable composite members e.g. these chairs, thus these furnitures pluralising the mass noun furniture. It is at this juncture that we turn to the second criterion mentioned earlier.

The fact that the "people" type examples have a homogeneity of members whereas the "furniture" type examples have a heterogeneity of members may well be an explanation of the linguistic preference given to such nouns in B.E. Mathesius (1975) differentiates the collective notion between the "people" type and "furniture" type examples by assigning the terms "collectivity" and "complexity" respectively to such nouns, diagrammatically representing this difference thus:

(a) examples:



(c) examples:



However, the argument still holds that the composite members in the "furniture" type examples are related to each other in an identical way serving one purpose - thus members of a collection as well as of a class (e.g. a table is a kind of furniture, whereas we cannot say a person is a kind of people); although they are not identical to each other. But even more important is the fact that they are countable as individual entities, just as much as say cows or persons are individually countable. In furniture, for example, the composite members table(s), chair(s), bed(s) etc. are countable. Similarly with all the other "furniture" type examples - the composite members are individually countable and serve one purpose, thus being related to each other as prototypes.

As for the "army" type examples in B.E., as stated earlier, the noun can have both a singular and plural referent, with the corresponding verb concord, as in:

 (family)
The (committee) is of the opinion that
 (board)
it is popularly received by the public.

 (family)
The (committee) have said they are
 (board)
not attending the ceremony this year.

The (flock) were grazing lazily in the
(herd) meadows.

The (flock)
(herd) was driven into the field.

The demonstrative pronoun, however, is in the singular for such nouns - This flock/family/committee/army. This is because such nouns express ideas "within limits" (Poutsma, 1914) thus the notion of a unit - a group, with its composite members, is implied (as compared to the "people" type examples, where the demonstrative pronoun is "these-people/clergy/police/cattle" etc). Hence if "these" is to be used with such "army" type nouns, it would be imperative that the noun itself is pluralised - "these armies/families/committees" etc, meaning numerous groups with their individual composite members.

The same goes for quantifiers with these nouns as well - comparing the 'people' and 'army' type examples, we have:

- (a) eggs: many people) meaning "numerous individuals
 cattle) comprising such an entity"
) viz people - cattle
- (b) eggs: many armies)
 families) meaning "numerous groups of
 herds) such entities" viz. army,
 flocks) herd etc.

Comparing further the "army" type examples with the "furniture" type examples (viz. furniture, luggage, jewellery etc), it will be realised that where an individual unit of an "army" type noun takes the indefinite article, the "furniture"

type noun has to have a classifier in B.E., as seen in:

- (b) egs: an army
 a herd
- (c) egs: an item of furniture
 a piece of jewellery

Likewise, for quantifiers, we have the difference between the "army" and "furniture" type nouns:

- (b) egs: many people/cattle
- (c) egs: much equipment/clothing

As for demonstrative pronouns, there is similarity between the "army" and "furniture" type examples, only as far as the singular pronouns go, whilst the plural pronoun only goes with the pluralised "army" type noun, as the "furniture" type nouns are not pluralised in B.E.:

- (b) egs: this army
 herd
 family

 these armies
 herds
 families
- (c) egs: this equipment
 furniture
 luggage

 *these equipments
 furnitures
 luggages

It is at this point that attention is turned to M.E. where such nouns are always pluralised. This may follow the analogy of these armies, these families from the (b) group and many police, many people from the (a) group, plus analogy from the composite members of the (c) group - chairs, letters, bananas therefore furnitures, mails and fruits. But before going into considering the M.E. tendency to pluralise such mass nouns, a general table showing the three groups of collective/mass nouns and their concordial possibilities (viz. quantifiers and pronouns) in B.E. would be helpful:

	Quantifier	Demonstrative Pronoun	Verb
a) Collective plural nouns ("people" type nouns)	a person	this person	is has
	many people	these people	are have
	a cow	this cow	is has
	many cattle	these cattle	are have
b) Collective unit nouns ("army" type nouns)	an army	this army	is has
	many armies	these armies	are have
	a flock	this flock	is has
	many flocks	these flocks	are have
c) Collective denumerable nouns ("furniture" type nouns)	an item of clothing	this item of clothing	is has
	much clothing	this clothing	is has

	a piece of jewellery	this piece of jewellery	is has
	much jewellery	this jewellery	is has

Coming on to the "furniture" type nouns in M.E. usage, where individuation is common in such nouns, the semantic notion of hyponymy is perhaps what is relevant here - that relationship which shows inclusion of certain characteristics between a specific and a general term-where the more specific subordinate term is the hyponym of the general superordinate term. However, the hyponymy in the corpus examples is a slightly special kind of hyponymy in that the superordinate term is a collective term, different from a normally count superordinate noun like 'animal, flower or insect'. Thus the hyponymy is a collective hyponymy and not an ordinary hyponymy - as far as B.E. goes. M.E. usage, however, gives the same status to the hyponym as to the hypernym - where the countability and pluralising potential of such nouns are concerned. It can be considered a device of simplification in M.E. where, for example, "furniture" is quantified and pluralised on the basis that "table" can take such features as well-hence the following examples in M.E.

"He bought three furnitures from Deithlem's this morning - a dining-table, a divan and a pouffe."

"The typist left out many punctuations which were important, especially in a legal document like that."

"Two underwears were found in the handbag."

This treatment, in M.E., of collective hypernyms as ordinary (count) hypernyms could be on analogy from B.E. where there are instances of such treatment. The noun "grocery" for instance, is an outstanding example. A "grocer" sells "groceries" - a collective hypernym for dry or preserved foods like rice, flour, coffee and sugar, each of these composite members not being identical to each other but related to one another in an identical way - they are co-hyponyms. In singular form this noun means "the place where groceries are sold", similar to the noun "pottery" (the place where pots, vases etc. are made/sold). Yet in B.E. the pluralised noun "potteries" is not used to refer to the subordinate composite members (viz. pots, vases, jugs etc. made of baked clay). Using the same analogy ("grocery/groceries"), there seems no reason why the nouns "cutlery, pottery, jewellery, machinery, confectionery and stationery" cannot be pluralised. It is no small wonder then that the M.E. speaker tends to use "cutleries, potteries, jewelleries, machineries, confectioneries and stationeries." Other analogous examples of current usage in B.E. are "perfumeries" and "toiletries" - often seen in departmental stores.

The example "fruit" seems to need special mention here. In B.E. it contains elements of both collective hyponymy

as well as a mass meaning. This is borne out by the fact that in the two dictionaries consulted, the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary and the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English - the label used for the illustration of various kinds of fruit(s) differs. In the OALD, the noun "fruit" is used, whereas in the LDCE, the noun "fruits" is used. The semantic element seems to be the determining factor in B.E. usage, where "fruit" is used in singular form but with the mass referent meaning of either "substance" or "collection of fruit(s)", whereas "fruits" is used with the individuated meaning of "item of fruit" though only in particular registers, viz. scientific reference, religious texts (Fruits of the earth) etc. - as seen in:

B.E. "I have eaten too much fruit to-day."

(fruit = substance)

In ten years or so, you will see the fruits of your labour.

(fruit(s) = item(s) of the substance 'fruit', used metaphorically).

It seems to be that this noun "fruit" has two basic meanings - (i) (uncountable) substance (stuff, matter) - thus not pluralised. (ii) (countable) item (instance) of the substance 'fruit' thus pluralised and used in specific registers. In

M.E., the hypernymous mass term "fruit" is pluralised as well - thus taking the meaning of the item/object. This difference in usage between M.E. and B.E. is seen in:

M.E. "All these fruits have gone bad."

B.E. "All this fruit has gone bad";

referring to a bowl containing individuated items or instances of the same noun. (Some apples, pears, oranges, bananas etc).

The other examples in the corpus that have the meaning of "substance" are nouns like "soap, chalk, wood and toast". In B.E., such nouns are considered uncountable. The concordial elements of such nouns, therefore, are usually quantifiers like "much", whilst denumeration is with classifiers like "piece, cake, bar, slice, stick.. of". The only noun among these that seems ambivalent as to its pluralising potential is "chalk", which normally takes the classifier "stick" but is sometimes, though less frequently, used without the classifier - as in "coloured chalks" in B.E. In M.E. such nouns with the meaning "substance" are pluralised and used with the meaning "item/instance - made of that substance." Hence the following examples:

M.E. "She ate four toasts this morning."

"There were only three soaps left in the box."

"Many chalks were strewn on the floor."

"These woods are for building the cow-shed."

Thus syntactically, in M.E., these nouns are treated as ordinary count nouns - as the nouns "potato (es), cake(s) and chocolate(s)."

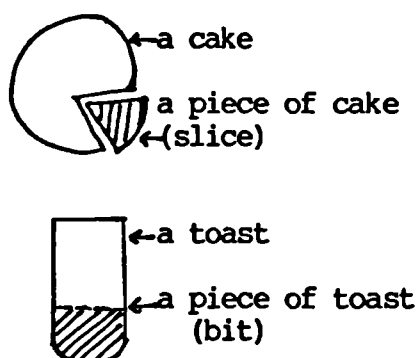
In B.E. such nouns can be used to mean

- (i) the substance - thus uncountable
(taking 'much' as quantifier with singular noun - e.g. 'much cake'.)
- (ii) the item/instance of this substance - countable
(taking 'many' as quantifier with plural noun - e.g. 'many cakes')
(or denumerable with numeral quantifiers like 'one, two' - e.g. 'one cake, two cakes').
- (iii) a partitive of the object made of this substance
(individuated by classifiers like 'piece, slice etc. - e.g. 'a slice of cake, a piece of cake').

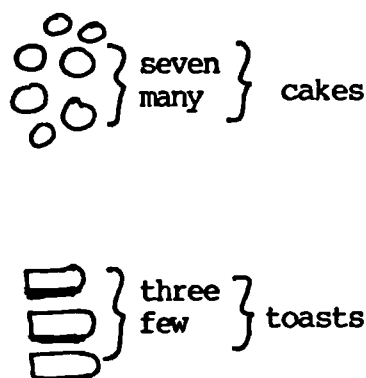
In M.E. the most frequent usage is that of (ii), thus the noun is pluralised and subsumes the meaning 'substance' as well.

The individuating classifiers - as in usage (iii) in B.E., are used in M.E. only where the referent is actually a partitive of the whole entity - e.g. a 'slice of cake' cut from a whole round cake or a 'piece of soap' cut from a whole cake/bar of soap (these classifiers 'bar/cake' being used in B.E.), such usage being diagrammatically represented thus (shown together with usage (ii)):

(iii) PARTITIVE (WITH CLASSIFIER)



(ii) COUNTABLE (PLURALISED)



The pluralising of uncountable mass nouns in M.E. is not altogether unacceptable and seems to have an analogous example in nouns like the noun "pastry" in B.E. In B.E. this noun has the meaning of "substance" as well as "item/object made of this substance" - hence the denumerable and pluralised "one pastry, two/many pastries" respectively. Thus although one may not be able to walk into a store and ask "Where is the

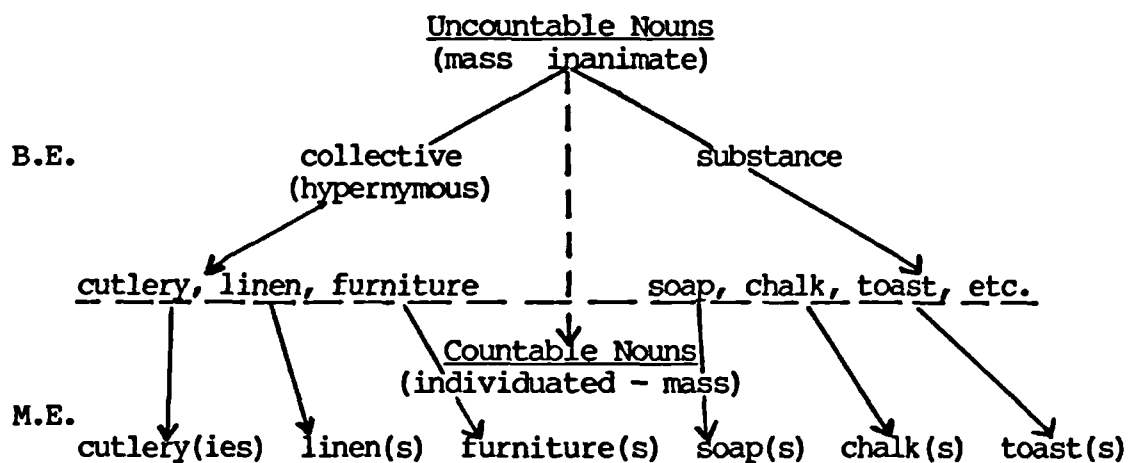
pastry?" (if one wants to buy, say, some tarts or pies etc.), the fact that this mass noun can be pluralised when referring to the items or objects made of this substance may explain the M.E. feature on analogous lines. Such variation - where the mass noun referent of substance is subsumed with the referent of object or item - is purely a straight forward simplification of language usage, especially in a second language context, as is the M.E. speaker's case. Thus one wonders why when one walks into a store, one cannot ask "Where is the pastry?" but should ask "Where is the pastry-section?" or "Where are the pastries?" And yet, (in B.E.) for the other collective nouns, the grammatical form is "Where is the jewellery (section)?" (not "Where are the jewelleries?") or "Where is the equipment (section)?" (and not "Where are the equipments?"). It is obvious that the M.E. attempt at simplification of such nouns is not just based on ontological phenomena but more of semantic as well as grammatical criteria. A summarised look at the concordial possibilities of such nouns in B.E. and M.E. will indicate the M.E. speaker's attempt at simplification:

<u>Concordial elements</u>	<u>'collective'</u> <u>examples</u> (hypernymous)		<u>'substance'examples</u>	
	<u>B.E.</u>	<u>M.E.</u>	<u>B.E.</u>	<u>M.E.</u>
(i) Singular:a/one Plural:two/twenty (with 's)	X	✓	X	✓
(ii) Count: many (with 's) Uct : much	X ✓	✓ (a lot of (with 's))	X ✓	✓ (a lot of (with 's))
(iii) Classifier:(piece, item) etc. (Individual) (cake stick) etc.	✓	X	✓	X (only partitive meaning - not individuated meaning)
(iv) Demon, pronoun: this (singular) these(plural) Verb: is(singular) are(plural)	✓ X ✓ X	✓ (with 's) ✓ (with 's)	✓ X ✓ X	✓ (with 's) ✓ (with 's)

Another plausible interpretation of the M.E. variation of such uncountable nouns could be semantic - on pure analogy, as in the examples of nouns like "accessory(ies)" which could be seen as being similar to "jewellery" hence "jewelleries". Other few examples seen as synonymous with "jewellery" are "ornament(s)" and "adornment(s)". "Accoutrement(s)" also seems synonymous with "equipment(s)".

"Confectionery(ies)" must be pluralised on analogy with "pastry(ies)" whilst "lingerie(s)" is individuated on the basis of "nightie(s)", "panty(ies)" and "undie(s)".

In summarising it will be realised that the M.E. speaker attempts simplification of such uncountable nouns on a semantic basis. Where in B.E. the referent of the noun is mass (either 'collective' or 'substance'), with the composite countable noun item as a part of this noun ("table", for e.g. of the noun "furniture"), in M.E. the mass noun is individuated, (made countable). This variation can be represented thus:



i.e. (a) BE has a category of 'mass hypernym collectives' (e.g. furniture), but in M.E. all of these are treated just as hyponyms.

- (b) B.E. resists the use of substance nouns as countable item - nouns more than M.E.

In the recheck questionnaire discussed in chapter one, the sentences that were used are:

- (i) Her jewelleries are exclusive.
- (ii) There were two registered mails at the office.
- (iii) Are there any furnitures in your flat?
- (iv) Three soaps were left in the sink.

Considering the sentences individually, the following figures show the degree of acceptance of the individuated nouns in each sentence:

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentence (i)	68%	60%
Sentence (ii)	67%	80%
Sentence (iii)	10%	50%
Sentence (iv)	47%	80%

TABLE 12: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF INDIVIDUATED - NOUN SENTENCES

The entire group of sentences as a whole therefore was accepted by 48% of the teachers and 68 % of the clerks. As will be seen from the figures above, other than the first sentence which had a higher percentage of acceptance by the teachers, the other

three sentences were more readily accepted by the clerks than by the teachers. As stated earlier, if the particular structure (i.e. in this case, the individuated noun) was not altered in the answer sheet by the individual informant, it was considered or rated as "accepted" (in other words, a feature of M.E.). This means that even if the informant felt uneasy or unsure about "soaps", for instance, and added "pieces of" after "three", thus giving "Three pieces of soaps", the structure "soaps" thus remaining intact, the sentence was marked as indigenized. Conversely, if "jewelleries" was altered to "jewellery" and yet the verb "are" was not altered to "is", the sentence was not considered as indigenized. It was on this basis that the indigenized structures were given their acceptance ratings.

"Mails" and "soaps" have a very high degree of acceptance by the clerks (80%) as compared to 67% and 47% respectively by the teachers. One could perhaps postulate that "mails" is taken on analogy to "letters" whilst "soaps" (a substance noun) goes on the basis like "chocolate" does, even in B.E. - instead of "bars of chocolate", one often hears of "How many chocolates did you eat?" "Furnitures" was the least accepted in both groups - with only 10% of the teacher-group accepting it (whilst 50% of the clerks accepted it). Thus

although this is an often-quoted example in terms of the count/mass distinction (where it is pluralised by second-language speakers), the prescriptively-aware teacher-group seems to single this noun out more than any of the others - hence only 10% of them considered it as acceptable in their English.

The general pattern therefore is that individuation is a valid indigenization feature in M.E., considering that even the teachers acknowledge the structures substantially enough whilst the clerks accept them even more.

INDIVIDUATION IN M.E.

B.E.	M.E.
1. clothing	a clothing/clothings
2. underwear	an underwear/underwears
3. lingerie	a lingerie/lingeries
4. jewellery	a jewellery/jewelleries
5. linen	a linen/linens
6. luggage(baggage)	a luggage/luggages (baggages)
7. pottery	a pottery/potteries
8. stationery	a stationery/stationeries
9. cutlery	a cutlery/cutleries
10. machinery	a machinery/machineries
11. scenery	a scenery/sceneries
12. confectionery	a confectionery/confectioneries
13. mail	a mail/mails
14. punctuation	a punctuation/punctuations
15. furniture	a furniture/furnitures
16. toast	a toast/toasts
17. soap	a soap/soaps
18. chalk	a chalk/chalks
19. wood	a wood/woods
20. fruit	a fruit/fruits

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 21. accomodation | an accomodation/accomodations |
| 22. information | an information/informations |
| 23. equipment | an equipment/equipments |
| 24. apparatus | an apparatus/apparatuses |
| 25. staff | a staff/staffs |

ARTICLE ELLIPSIS IN M.E.

The ϕ article in M.E. occurs in four constructions in addition to those in B.E. The four instances are when:

$$NP = x + N$$

where x = modifier = noun/adjective/"such"/preposition

and N = head = abstract or institutionalized (concrete)
noun.

Such article ellipsis is of both definite and indefinite articles. The most interesting thing about these phrases is that the head nouns of such phrases are specifically abstract and not concrete nouns; in contrast, abstractness seems to play no part at all in the grammar of B.E.

The occurrence of such NPs without articles is possible in all syntactic positions, except for the case where x is a preposition, appearing only in prepositional object position. The syntactic position possibility of an NP, therefore, would be when:

$$[x + N] = \text{subject/object/complement/prepositional object}$$

Some examples of such NPs in the various syntactic positions would enlighten:

(Adjectives are separated into "superlative" and "normal" to show that both gradable and non-gradable adjectives can take such ellipsis).

x + noun where x = Position	noun	sup. adjective	normal adj.	"such"	preposition
SUBJECT	<u>Crime rate</u> is increasing in this country.	<u>Highest temperature</u> this season was 90°F.	<u>Annual flood</u> is expected sometime in August.	<u>Such situation</u> can be avoided if we are alert.	-
OBJECT	He is studying <u>crime rate</u> of this country.	They recorded <u>highest temperature</u> this season as 90°F.	They discussed <u>annual flood</u> and steps to overcome it.	They couldn't recall <u>such situation</u> .	-
COMPLEMENT	This is <u>crime rate</u> of this country.	This is <u>highest temperature</u> this season - 90°F.	This is <u>annual flood</u> - it occurs every August.	They realised <u>such situation</u> may recur.	-
PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT	He is interested in <u>crime rate</u> of this country.	They talked about <u>highest temperature</u> recorded this season.	She was referring to <u>annual flood</u> in the East Coast.	They did not want to get into <u>such situation</u> .	She asked <u>for transfer</u> to Kuala Lumpur.

EXAMPLES OF Ø ARTICLE OCCURRENCES IN M.E.

Article ellipsis with such nouns in M.E. can occur only with the corresponding types of modifiers - in other words, such nouns do not occur without the article if on their own, except for some of them when used institutionally with a preposition, for example, "school, camp, promotion, stress, shock and strain." Thus we can have:

"Total income of a blue-collar worker is not sufficient to maintain a family of four" but not

"Income of a blue-collar worker..."

Instead we should have:

"The income of a blue-collar worker...."

The exceptions are cases like the following:

"Is she in school?"

"He was put in camp for six months."

"They were due for promotion soon."

"She is prone to shock easily." ("shock" here is a noun)

"Urban dwellers are subject to stress more than their rural counterparts."

This condition of having a modifier in complementary distribution with an article before abstract nouns thus makes the article a special modifier in M.E. Whereas the other determiners like possessives, demonstratives, interrogatives and quantifiers can co-occur with the modified abstract noun in

M.E., the article is in complementary distribution not just with modifiers like nouns and adjectives but also prepositions and the predeterminer "such". Some examples would confirm this point further:

M.E. I don't have sligh^test idea of what is happening.

M.E./B.E. Do you have any idea of what is happening?

M.E. Worst impression was created during the encore.

M.E./B.E. The impression was created during the encore.

M.E. That was quickest decision I ever made.

M.E./B.E. That was a decision made very quickly.

M.E. She had fighting chance as her HB level was still high.

M.E./B.E. She had a/some chance as her HB level was still high.

M.E. Ministerial delegation was sent to the U.N.

M.E./B.E. Our delegation was sent to the U.N.

M.E. She was worried about academic progress

M.E./B.E. She was worried about her progress.

M.E. It was such shame that they could not come.

M.E./B.E. It was a shame that they could not come.

M.E. Such blunder cannot go unnoticed.

M.E./B.E. This blunder cannot go unnoticed.

M.E. I haven't seen such catastrophe before.

(referring to a single incident)

M.E./B.E. There shouldn't be cause for any catastrophe to occur.

M.E. Such event is indelible in my mind.

M.E./B.E. Any event like this is indelible.

M.E. She was referring to hippy culture.

M.E./B.E. She was referring to the culture of the aborigines.

M.E. Hotel accomodation provided there was good.

M.E./B.E. The accomodation provided there was good.

M.E. District council was launching home-ownership plan.

M.E./B.E. The District council was launching a plan for its residents.

M.E. They were in dilemma after the pay-cut.

M.E./B.E. They were experiencing a dilemma after the pay-cut.

M.E. The students yearned for change of their Principal.

M.E./B.E. The students wanted a change of their Principal.

M.E. Ismail did not want to get into mess with the authorities.

M.E./B.E. Ismail did not want to cause a mess with the authorities.

The above examples, therefore, confirm that in M.E. the article occurs only before unmodified abstract nouns i.e. ϕ article is obligatory in modified abstract nouns - in both subject and predicate positions.

Another point to note is that most of the nouns so modified are abstract nouns, with the few exceptions like 'restaurant-owner' or 'best friend' - these being, however institutionalized role-nouns similar to school, office, illness and camp and used always as predicatives. The abstract nouns can occur in all positions - subject and predicate (object, complement and prepositional object positions). The exceptional cases of the concrete nouns that occur with article ellipsis however, only occur in predicate position, as seen in:

He is compulsive video-fan.

*Video-fan like him runs the risk of not completing his thesis on time.

She is chain-smoker.

*Chain-smoker like her is scorned at by her colleagues.

Rahman was prodigal son of Encik Wahab.

*Prodigal son was back in the family.

David is arch enemy of Stephen.

*Arch enemy of Stephen is David.

Thus although the above type nouns are the only types of concrete nouns that allow article ellipsis in M.E., there is the restriction that such ellipsis occurs only in predicative position. A few examples with ordinary concrete nouns will confirm that in M.E. article ellipsis does not occur before concrete nouns in general.

M.E. *Did you buy pencil-case for me?

M.E./B.E. Did you buy a pencil-case for me?

M.E. *They have beautiful countryside bungalow.

M.E./B.E. They have a beautiful countryside bungalow.

M.E. *Colour television in my room is faulty.

M.E./B.E. The colour television in my room is faulty.

To see if there is any influence of B.M. on M.E., a salient factor to consider would be the treatment of abstract nouns in Bahasa Malaysia - where the determinative article system does not operate for such nouns. In fact, the article system does not exist at all in Bahasa Malaysia.

A look at some abstract nouns in use in B.M. would enlighten:

B.M. Saya terpaksa menggunakan kaedah penterjemahan.

(I have/had use method translation)

M.E./(B.E.) I have/had to use (the) translation method.

B.M. Dia tidak layak untuk kenaikan pangkat lagi.

(He/she not eligible for promotion yet).

M.E./(B.E.) He/she is not eligible for (a) promotion yet.

B.M. Semua calon-calon dikehendaki melapurkan diri di

(All candidates required report at

Pusat Latihan.

centre training).

M.E./(B.E.) All candidates are required to report at the

training centre.

Thus in BM, indefinite determination is by cardinal quantification, viz. the numeral 'one' ("satu") abbreviated sometimes to "se" co-occurring with the relevant classifier of the noun, - with the function of the indefinite article 'a' in English. Definite determination is by other determiners like possessive or demonstrative pronouns, quantifiers and the ϕ article (in declaratives). Examples are:

"This is a book"

Ini (se buah) buku

(This(a classifier) book).

"This is my book"

Ini buku saya

(This book my)

"Where is that book?"

Di mana buku itu?

(Where book that?)

"I bought many books"

Saya membeli banyak buku

"There are some books in that bag"

Ada buku didalam beg itu

(There are books in bag that)

"Where's the book?"

Manakah buku itu?

Whilst this is so, the abstract/concrete dichotomy in BM is further emphasized by the use of classifiers. It is at this point that the position and role of classifiers in BM is to be considered - whether they are obligatory or optional with the nouns, and if so, with what nouns and with what modifying or premodifying status.

"The numeral classifiers in BM occur only with countable nouns. These nouns may be concrete or abstract. The occurrence of classifiers with the abstract nouns is very restricted compared to their occurrence with concrete nouns" (Asmah 1972) 75:245. Such classifiers, therefore, occur with concrete count nouns in the syntactic structure [quantifier + classifier + noun], with no overt plural morpheme to indicate plurality. Asmah goes on further "The occurrence of classifiers with abstract nouns is very restricted in BM. The classifier for 'words' is 'patah' (portion/segment) while events, stories, questions, answers and abstract concepts such as political parties, unions, associations, societies and countries take the classifier 'buah'. Nouns which do not take classifiers in BM fall into the following categories:

- (i) Abstract nouns which pertain to feelings, attributes, sizes and colours.
- (ii) Measures of frequency, distance and capacity.
- (iii) Temporal nouns (night, day, week, month, year, century, hour etc.).
- (iv) Sole objects such as God, moon, sun, the earth ('stars' however take the classifiers 'biji').
- (v) Certain parts of the body.
- (vi) The noun for person/people in BM, since it is itself a classifier (orang)".

Some examples of nouns with classifiers are:

"Lima biji guli kaca."

Five pellets marbles glass.

Quantifier + classifier + noun + modifier

"Dua helai kain putih."

Two pieces cloth white.

Quantifier + classifier + noun + modifier

"Berapa utas benang sutera?"

How many strands thread silk?

Quantifier + classifier + noun + modifier

(Interrogative)

The classifiers "orang" (person) and "ekor" (tail) are the neutral classifiers for all human and non-human (though animate) nouns respectively whilst "buah" is a neutral classifier for any big inanimate noun which does not have any other specific classifier for it. The other inanimate classifiers can be subcategorized according to the shape, size, and such characteristics of the concrete nouns they modify.

The obligatory role of classifiers with cardinally quantified concrete nouns in BM leads to the question as to whether such classifiers are determiners or co-determiners (premodifiers). This would be implicative of co-occurrence restrictions in B.M. between concrete and abstract nouns and may be a factor of influence on M.E. Considering their occurrence in the syntactic position of such an NP as: [Quantifier + classifier + concrete noun \pm modifier] classifiers cannot really be considered determiners per se. There is always a determiner before the classifier in B.M. (by way of cardinal quantifiers). As such, the term "co-determiner" might be suitable as it has to co-occur with another determiner (and that too only with concrete nouns and a select few abstract nouns). The term "premodifier" would also be possible, if used to imply that there is also a "modifier" as such (in the case of BM - "post-modifier" seems to be more

appropriate due to the word order ruling for such NPs). Taking the example:

"Tiga bentuk chinchin emas."

Three shapes rings gold.

Quantifier + classifier + concrete noun + modifier,

we have the noun phrase "chinchin emas" - "gold rings" with the word order reversed to that in English. Thus "emas" (gold) could be considered a modifier - and a post-modifier at that in BM. The classifier "bentuk" (shape) which is obligatory with this noun can be termed a premodifier as well. There is, however, one condition for the occurrence of a classifier in BM - that is, the presence of a cardinal quantifier. Thus if the noun is used in a sentence with no quantifier as such, the classifier is not used. An example would enlighten:

There are lizards in that box.

Ada cicak di dalam kotak itu.

(There are lizards in box that).

There are six lizards in that box.

Ada enam ekor cicak di dalam kotak itu.

(There are six (classifier) lizards...in box that).

Thus, the concrete animate (non human) noun "cicak" (lizard)

does not have to take the classifier "ekor" which would otherwise be attached to it if there is a cardinal quantifier before it (regardless of whether the noun is singular or plural). This criterion therefore would allow us to use the term "co-determiner" quite appropriately for classifiers in BM.

Whereas concrete nouns in BM take such classifiers in co-determiner position, abstract nouns occur mostly without such co-determiners and determiners even (when occurring in singular form especially).

Some examples would enlighten:

"Dia diberi jawatan di dalam bahagian perjawatan."

She was given post in division recruitment.

She was given (a) post in (the) recruitment division.

"Mengikut laporan terbaru, 850 orang menjadi mangsa banjir."

According to report most recent, 850 people were victims flood.

According to (the) most recent report, 850 people were flood-victims.

"Apakah keputusan rancangan pembangunan itu?"

What is result/outcome programme development that.

What is (the) outcome of that development programme?

To summarise the co-occurrence rules of nouns and determiners in B.M. we have:

- (i) Concrete nouns can occur without any determiner.

e.g. Dia beli gula, kopi, dan mentega.

(He bought sugar, coffee, and butter).

He bought some sugar, coffee and butter.

Mereka duduk di dalam motokar.

(They sat in car)

They sat in the car.

- (ii) Concrete nouns can co-occur with the determiners [other than articles which are absent in B.M. - if definite determination is to be indicated, the demonstrative itu/ini (that/this) is used]. When co-occurring with cardinal quantifiers, the relevant classifier is obligatory.

e.g. Buku itu buku saya.

(Book that book mine)

That book is mine/my book.

Buku siapa yang hilang?

(Whose book which lost)

Whose book was lost?

Dia membeli (semua)
(sedikit) buku
(banyak)

(He/she bought (all)
(a few) books)
(many)

Dia membeli (sebuah)
(dua buah) buku
(a/one(class)
(He/she bought ↓ (two (class) ↓ books)

- (iii) Abstract nouns may co-occur with determiners but not with the cardinal quantifiers (except for restricted abstract nouns that are quantifiable with the classifier "buah" especially). Thus we have:

Saya ada (sebuah) cadangan yang baik.

(I have suggestion which good)

I have a good suggestion.

Dia ada ingatan yang baik.

(She has memory which good)

She has a good memory.

Apakah pendapat para perunding?

(What opinion consultants?)

What is the opinion of the consultants?

Mereka memberi (sebuah) jawapan yang positif.

(They gave answer which positive)

They gave a positive answer/reply.

Thus the absence of the article system in B.M. may well be an explanation of the situation in M.E., where although the concrete nouns co-occur with all determiners (other than the institutionalized concrete nouns occurring with ϕ) abstract nouns, although co-occurring with the other determiners (with or without modifiers) do not co-occur with articles if they are modified. Thus we get:

"Last time instead of

"The last time"

and we also get

"Does Rahim get child-reduction for this show?" but

"Is there a reduction for children attending this show?"

One could speculate therefore whether the modifier here becomes

a determiner when occurring with abstract nouns as such, thus ellipting the otherwise necessary article.

The first group of nouns having article ellipsis consists of (noun + noun) phrases. There are eighteen of these from the short-listed corpus total of fifty-three phrases with article ellipsis - viz. nos 1 - 18 on p.186. As for the syntactic positions they occupy, there were three in subject position, five in object position, two in complement position with eight in prepositional object position. Whether such structures are noun phrases or compounds is not really clear and even in B.E. the difference between NPs and compounds has often been debated upon (viz. Quirk - 1985, Hudson - 1984, Huddleston - 1984). Working on the premise, therefore, that such structures are noun phrases, the first noun is a modifier. Of the eighteen examples, the article deleted for ten of them was the definite article whilst for the other eight of them, the indefinite article was deleted. The abstract nouns that can take article ellipsis are examples like "plan", "group", "method", "sentence" and "estate". Other possible examples are:

She was discussing nomination procedure.

They are planning waste disposal scheme for the village.

Filtration process occurs at the end.

It will be realised that although some such nouns are somewhat tangible viz. examples like "income-tax office", "registration centre" and "countryside estate", (although big in size), they are used more in an institutionalized context as obtained also in Bahasa Malaysia, hence we can also have, in M.E.:

M.E. There is a long queue at passport office this morning.
Are you going to department library today?
They have their training sessions at sports complex.
This looks like family reunion.

The B.M. equivalents of the above examples are:

B.M. Ada ramai orang berhimpun di pejabat paspot pagi ini.
(Got many people gathered at office passport morning
this)

B.M. Anda pergi ke perpustakaan jabatan hari ini kah?
(You go to library department day this (int.suffix)?)

B.M. Mereka ada sesi latihan di kompleks sukan
(They have session training at complex sports)

B.M. Nampaknya ini perhimpunan keluarga
(Looks like this reunion family)

The other (noun + noun) NPs that need mention are those that are actually concrete nouns but used institutionally, indicative of a role and used in predicative position only. Such examples are nouns like "restaurant-owner". In M.E. we can also expect to hear sentences such as the following:

She is music teacher in that school.

Who is athletics coach in your camp ?

He is good faith-healer.

Did you see guidance-counsellor at all?

In B.M. such nouns can occur with or without a determiner (with the classifier) as seen in examples like:

Dia (seorang) guru muzik di sekolah itu.

(She (one-classifier) teacher music in school that)

She is (a) music teacher in that school.

Siapa pelatih olahraga didalam kem anda?

(Who coach athletics in camp your?)

Who is athletics coach in your camp?

The next group of nouns to be considered are those that take article ellipsis with superlative adjectives as premodifiers. There are ten such samples in the corpus (nos. 19-28) (pg 186). The article ellipsed is the definite article "the" in all cases. In BE, one of the functions of the definite article is to reinforce the superlative degree of the adjective concerned - "the highest, the best, the most notorious", but in M.E., it does not have this function. Such nouns occupy all four syntactic positions. The superlative adjectives are both periphrastic superlatives as well as inflectional ones, modifying abstract nouns like "trend, condition and survey" and institutionalized role-nouns like "performer, friend and seller".

In considering the superlative adjective, it would be important to note that between the normal adjective (to be discussed below) and the superlative adjective, the comparative adjective with such abstract nouns also takes article ellipsis. Thus if we consider "heaviest traffic flow" for instance, we have, in M.E.:

There is (heavy) traffic flow in Jalan Bangsar.

(heavier)

(heaviest)

Heaviest traffic flow is in Jalan Bangsar.

Similarly other examples are:

This is (cold) climate
(colder)
(coldest)

I haven't seen happy event like this before.

I haven't seen happier event.

This is happiest event in my life.

That was (big) scare

This is (bigger) scare (than that)

(biggest)

Biggest scare so far has been the extortionist.

The superlative adjective has been singled out here purely for purposes of emphasising the fact that where in B.E. this particular degree of adjective always co-occurs with the article "the", in M.E. this restriction is not present.

The nouns with normal adjectives as modifiers total twelve in the corpus (numbers 29-40, page 186) taking all four syntactic positions. Like the previous instances, the nouns premodified are abstract or institutionalized nouns such as "climate, flood, period, season, shock, and example", with

adjectives like "cold, hot, annual, hectic, good and severe" as modifiers.

The examples "English" and "Chinese" can be considered denominal adjectives, similar to "Indian" or "German" as in

M.E./ (B.E.) This is (an) Indian custom.

M.E./ (B.E.) The food has (a) German flavour about it.

The next four instances of article ellipsis is when the noun has "such" as the modifier (numbers 41 - 44, page 186) occurring in all four syntactic positions. The predeterminer in B.E. therefore, becomes modifier in M.E. In B.E. the predeterminer "such" usually co-occurs with the indefinite article "a" as in "such a school", "such a waste" and "such a nuisance".

In M.E. we thus have sentences like:

M.E. Such factor cannot be ignored.

M.E. I will not tolerate such person.

M.E. There is such fuss about the policy.

Thus, although in B.E. there are some abstract nouns which occur with "such" without the article (as seen below), these nouns are mass nouns not quantifiable by the indefinite article:

B.E. Such ignorance will not be tolerated.

B.E. I will not entertain such foolishness.

If they do occur with the indefinite article (with "such"), there is a recategorization involved where the article "a" indicates "a kind of" as in:

B.E. There is such a malaise in the camp that the authorities have given up on their trainees. (compared to "There is such malaise in the camp").

The next nine samples (numbers 45 to 53, page 186/187) are different from the previous ones in that the nouns with ellipted articles depend on the prepositions before them. They are all therefore in prepositional object position.

Here, the preposition seems to become the modifier, allowing for article ellipsis thereby. Thus we can have, in M.E. the following possible structures:

She is due for transfer soon.

She was given official transfer.

She was given a transfer.

They were put in camp for two weeks.

They were shown concentration camp on their way.

There is a camp outside the city.

Other examples of such prepositional modifier NP structures allowing article ellipsis in M.E. are:

M.E. She was walking in hurry.

M.E. They were thinking of idea suggested by their tutor.

M.E. He is in for disappointment when the results are put on the board.

M.E. I was in fix when I heard they were coming tonight.

M.E. They are waiting for reply from the warden.

M.E. The situation was compared to hurricane.

Thus in M.E. the determinative function of a premodifier to abstract nouns in particular is realized by the modifying noun, adjective, the predeterminer "such" and even prepositions, a possible source of analogy coming from the absence of the article system and the abstract/concrete dichotomy in B.M.

In other words, in addition to the instances of ϕ article that occur in B.E., ϕ article, in M.E., also occurs before modified abstract nouns in all positions as well as before institutionalised concrete nouns in predicate position.

x + noun where x= Syntactic post.	Noun	Super Adj.	Normal Adj.	"Such"	Preposition
Subject	3	4	1	-	-
Object	5	-	3	-	-
Complem.	2	5	3	2	-
Prep. Obj.	8	1	5	2	9
Total	18	10	12	4	9

TABLE 13: ϕ ARTICLE OCCURRENCES IN THE CORPUS ACCORDING TO SYNTACTIC POSITIONS

In the recheck questionnaire, there were six sentences that contained structures with article ellipsis. They were:

- (i) Crime rate is increasing in this country. (80%/80%)
- (ii) They recorded highest temperature this season as 90°F. (43%/40%)
- (iii) They did not want to get into such situation. (56%/80%)

- (iv) She asked for transfer to K.L. (33%/60%)
- (v) Last week I went for piano recital at Civic Centre.
(31%/60%)
- (vi) Eileen is best friend of Ramlah. (19%/20%)

Taking the sentences individually, the following figures show the degree of acceptance of the individuated nouns in each sentence:

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentence (i)	80%	80%
(ii)	43%	40%
(iii)	56%	80%
(iv)	33%	60%
(v)	31%	60%
(vi)	19%	20%

TABLE 14: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF ϕ ARTICLE EXAMPLES

The sentences as a whole (i.e. representative of the element of article ellipsis) were accepted by 44% of the teachers as against 57% of the clerks.

The first example of "crime rate" is almost fully accepted by both groups - 80%, in fact the highest in terms of acceptance by the teachers for elements of the Noun Phrase

used in the questionnaire. As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire showed a lower degree of acceptance of the Noun Phrase indigenised structures by the teachers (compared to the clerks who accepted them better), whilst the Verb Phrase indigenised structures were more readily accepted by the teachers (while the clerks reflected a comparative reluctance towards such structures). Those who did not accept the article-ellipted nouns had, (besides inserting the article itself) changes like "Crime rates are", "a best friend" and "Ramlah's best friend".

The structure "such + Noun" was the next most accepted by both the groups. In fact it was as equally accepted by the clerks as the first example crime rate (80%), whilst for the teachers it was in the middle level of acceptance (56%). Sentences (iv) and (v) (with transfer and piano recital) were accepted only on a 33/31% basis by the teachers but almost doubly by the clerks (60% each). In both the teacher as well as the clerical groups, the least accepted sentence was sentence (vi) - with the superlative adjective modifier for the NP - with only 19% and 20% degree of acceptability, respectively. The other "superlative adjective + Noun" NP too had only 43%/40% rating respectively..

Thus the general trend indicated by this recheck questionnaire is that abstract nouns like crime rate and the "such + abstract noun" constructions are ^{most} susceptible to indigenization. On the other hand, the structure least indigenized or at least lower down the indigenization scale seems to be the "superlative adjective and noun" construction.

CORPUS SAMPLES OF ARTICLE ELLIPSIS IN M.E.

1. crime rate
2. recruit_{ment} section
3. investment programme
4. translation method
5. countryside estate
6. property group
7. population explosion
8. traffic congestion
9. child reduction
10. piano recital
11. seaside holiday
12. registration centre
13. income-tax office
14. total income
15. jail sentence
16. restaurant owner
17. laundry service
18. development plan
19. most recent reports
20. latest figures
21. best overall performer
22. highest temperature
23. worst conditions
24. last time
25. best friend
26. newest trend
27. best seller
28. heaviest traffic-flow
29. cold climate
30. annual flood
31. hectic period
32. hot season
33. good example
34. severe shock
35. rough time
36. bad experience
37. terrible fright
38. long delay
39. English paper
40. Chinese school
41. such school
42. such situation
43. such burden
44. such nuisance
45. to office
46. for transfer

- 47. from illness
- 48. in camp
- 49. for promotion
- 50. to school
- 51. into pattern
- 52. for allowance
- 53. to stress

PERSONAL PRONOMINAL CONCORD IN M.E.

Personal pronominalization in B.E. has a clear-cut dichotomy between personal and non-personal nouns, where for the non-personal nouns, "it" and "they" are used according to the number of the antecedent. In M.E. however, the pronoun "it" refers specifically to:-

- (a) singular living (non-human) nouns and
- (b) singular/plural non-living nouns.

Thus where for the living nouns, consideration is given to number, (with the "it/they" pair), the non-living nouns take "it" regardless of number. Some examples would be useful.

A. Non-living

- (i) There were many torn books, so I sent (* them/it) for repair.
- (ii) He juggled the plates as if (* they/it) was just a handful of beads.
- (iii) She dropped all the pins on the floor, spending hours picking (* them/it) up later.

- (iv) The newspapers were on the chair, but he didn't notice (* them/it).
- (v) He bought two pairs of socks but had misplaced (* them/it).

B. Living

- (vi) The roses were faded so I threw (* it/them) away.
- (vii) There were many ants on the floor, thus we poured insecticide over (* it/them).
- (viii) Bacteria are present everywhere; it's hard to detect (* it/them).
- (ix) There are many kinds of fungi; (* it's/they're) common in the jungle.
- (x) Blood cells multiply very fast; Rani's making a study of (* it/them).

The referent of 'it' in M.E. can be represented thus:

- (i) "It" = - living (+ singular / plural).
 - (ii) "It" = / +living
+singular
- with "they/them" = +living
+plural

Thus both singular and plural non-living nouns take "it" as their anaphor, although other syntactic categories like

determiners and verbs agree with the number of the noun. The non-living nouns do not follow syntactic agreement rules for personal pronominalization whilst syntactic agreement for number holds for the living nouns.

Non-Living Nouns and Other Pronouns

A look at the non-living nouns with regard to the other pronouns in M.E. will throw further light on the special position of the pronoun "it". The various pronouns relevant to such discussion are:

- (a) possessive pronouns
- (b) demonstrative pronouns
- (c) reflexive pronouns

(a) Possessives

As far as possessives are concerned, the non-living nouns take the semantic rule where the plural noun takes "its" as well - although this is a point that needs further study. The recheck questionnaire had only three such sentences to go by, whilst the short-listed corpus examples too had only these three. A look at these three sentences, together with an added few may be useful at this point:

- (i) These books are very interesting. Its contents demand concentrated reading though.
 - (ii) I bought some dresses from Globes' yesterday but its patterns don't really suit me, so I'll return it tomorrow.
 - (iii) The bicycles that were parked by the bus-stop were completely damaged - it was beyond repair. Its owners were completely to be blamed.
 - (iv) Although those boxes are heavy, its contents are fragile.
 - (v) The new Volvos are simply smashing - its shape is very streamline.
 - (vi) These houses are beautiful - its style is in Tudor vein.
- (b) Demonstratives:

However, the non-living nouns take the B.E. demonstrative pronouns in concordance with their number. Thus we have "these/those" for plural non-living nouns and "this/that" for singular non-living nouns. This is the case for such demonstratives as determiners as in:

- (i) These books are interesting
- (ii) Have you seen those pianos?

(iii) It is these shoes that I need

(iv) I was referring to those facts

The same holds for these demonstratives as independent pronouns as well, as in:

(v) These are dresses sewn by my mother

(vi) This is a book written by Camus

(vii) It is these that I need

(viii) There are those that are not very interesting

(ix) I like these amongst all the dresses here

(x) She finds it difficult to choose from those, as these look more interesting

(c) Reflexives:

As for reflexive pronouns, it must be admitted firstly that such non-living nouns do not have much potential for reflexivization - although the few instances are there. In these particular instances, it is the semantic agreement rule that holds in M.E., although this too needs further research or investigation. A look at some examples:

(i) These facts speak for [itself/* themselves]

(ii) Have you seen the pianos /itself/* themselves /?

(iii) These books explain / itself/* themselves / very well.

- (iv) The toys itself were badly damaged.
- (v) The curtains itself match the carpet well.
- (vi) The road-worthy saloons proved itself at the end of the day.

Analogy with Bahasa Malaysia

The tendency to allocate the pronominal "it" to non-living nouns in M.E. can be seen as a partial influence of Bahasa Malaysia. A look at just this element of personal pronouns in B.M would enlighten us here.

Bahasa Malaysia has the personal/non-personal dichotomy for personal pronouns with only one neuter pronoun for the non-personal pronoun - for both singular and plural antecedents. Thus where for personal pronouns there is number marking for first, second and third persons (actually only for the first and third), there is no such variation for the non-personal pronoun "ia". The list is tabulated below:

Personal Nouns

Singular	<u>1st person</u> Saya (I)	<u>2nd person</u> anda/kamu (you)	<u>3rd person</u> dia (he, she)
Plural	kami (we-exclusive) kita (we-inclusive)	anda/kamu semua (you all)	mereka (they)

Non-personal pronouns

Singular	ia (it)
Plural	ia (it)

It will be realised as seen in the examples below that among the non-personal pronouns in B.M. [i.e. non-human nouns], there is a distinction between the pronouns used for (+ living) and (- living) nouns:

A. Non-living

(i) Rumah itu sangat cantik. Ia direka oleh Hijas Kasturi.

(House that very beautiful. It designed by Hijas Kasturi).

That house is very beautiful. It is designed by Hijas Kasturi.

- (ii) Kedai itu sangat besar. Ia dipunyai oleh abang Mariam.

(Shop that very big. It owned by brother Mariam).

That shop is very big. It is owned by Mariam's brother.

- (iii) Kereta-kereta ini semua diekspotkan ke Amerika Syarikat. Ia dinamakan "Proton Saga".

(Cars those all are exported to United States of America. It is named "Proton Saga").

Those cars are all exported to USA. They are named "Proton Saga".

- (iv) Meja-meja semua itu akan dipindahkan ke bilek persidangan. Ia digunakan untuk menghidangkan makanan.

(Tables all those will be moved to Conference Room. It used to serve food).

All those tables will be moved to the Conference Room. They are to be used to serve food.

- (v) Pita-pita itu diedarkan oleh Syarikat EMI. Ia dijual murah untuk mengutip derma.

(Records those were distributed by EMI company. It is sold cheap to collect funds).

Those records were distributed by EMI. They are sold cheap to collect funds for charity.

B. Living:

(vi) Buah ini masih mentah. Mungkin ia dipetek sebelum cukup masa.

(Fruit this still raw. Maybe it was plucked before time).

This fruit is still raw. It must have been plucked prematurely.

(vii) Kuman-kuman taun senang dijangkit kerana ia merebak melalui air (selain daripada cara-cara lain).

(Germs cholera easy to be infected because they spread through water, besides other means).

It is easy to be infected by cholera germs as they spread through water, besides other means.

(viii) Bunga-bunga ros itu sangat cantik. Ia dibeli oleh suami saya.

(Flowers rose those very pretty. They were bought by husband my).

Those roses are very pretty. They were bought by my husband.

(ix) Anai-anai sangat rajin. Ia terdapat didalam tanah dan tiang-tiang kayu.

(Termites very industrious. It found in soil and posts wooden).

Termites are very industrious. They are found in the soil and wooden posts.

- (x) Pokok-pokok jenis ini mengandongi getah. Ia digunakan untuk membuat perabut.

(Trees type this contain latex. It used for making furniture).

Trees of this type contain latex. They are used for making furniture.

From the above examples, it will be seen that the B.M. system is as follows:

(with no differentiation for the living/non-living nouns)

	Living	Non-Living
Singular	ia	ia
Plural	ia	ia

Other than the pronoun "ia", non-human nouns can be anaphorically represented by repetition of the same noun with the demonstrative determiner "itu" (that) or "ini" (this) in B.M. Thus we can have:

- (i) I bought these books at Dillon's. They are expensive.

Saya beli buku-buku ini di Dillon's. / Ia /Buku-buku ini / mahal.

(I bought books (pl) these at Dillon's / They/Books
these / expensive).

(ii) She can't carry the box as it is heavy.

Dia tidak terangkat peti ini kerana / ia /peti ini /
berat.

(She can't carry box this because / it/box this /
heavy).

Thus the M.E. representation for living (non-human)/
non-living nouns seems to be a combination of the B.M. system
(with no change in number for the non-living) and the B.E.
system (with change in number for the living (non-human)
nouns. The "partial" influence of B.M. on M.E. can be deduced
from the following representation of the non-personal pronoun
systems in B.M., B.E. and M.E.

<u>B.M.</u> - living (- human)	}	it (sg/pl)
non-living		
<u>B.E.</u> - living (- human)	}	it (sg)/they (pl)
non-living		
<u>M.E.</u> - non-living		it (sg/pl)
living (- human)		it (sg)/they (pl).

In the recheck questionnaire, there were eleven

sentences that contained such structures. Another five were put in as distractors, containing living nouns. These sentences are the ones used on pp. 189 (nos. vi-x) as examples. As for the non-living examples, the first five are those used on pp 188/189 (nos. i-v). The sentences on pp. 191 (nos. i-iii) were used to counter check the possessive pronouns that go with the living nouns, whilst the sentences on pp. 192 (nos. i-iii) were used for the reflexive pronouns. For a clearer picture, the sentences are listed again below:

- (i) There were many torn books so I sent it for repair. (47%/60%)
- (ii) He juggled the plates as if it was just a handful of beads. (42%/70%)
- (iii) She dropped all the pins on the floor, spending hours picking it up later. (60%/70%)
- (iv) The newspapers were on the chair but he didn't notice it. (56%/80%)
- (v) He bought two pairs of socks but had misplaced it. (30%/50%)
- (vi) These books are very interesting. Its contents demand concentrated reading through. (49%/80%)
- (vii) I bought some dresses from Globe's yesterday but its patterns don't really suit me, so I will return it tomorrow. (33%/60%)

- (viii) The bicycles that were parked by the bus-stop were damaged completely - its owners were entirely to be blamed. (49%/40%)
- (ix) These facts speak for itself. (34%/80%)
- (x) Have you seen the pianos itself? (14%/0%)
- (xi) These books explain itself very well. (29%/80%)

Among the first five sentences (i-v) in the list above, the following figures indicate the degree of acceptance of the two groups viz. teachers and clerks:

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentence (i)	47%	60%
(ii)	42%	70%
(iii)	60%	70%
(iv)	56%	80%
(v)	30%	50%

TABLE 15: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF "IT" PRONOUN FOR PLURAL NON-LIVING NOUNS

The overall pattern is one of a greater degree of acceptance of these features by the clerks than by the teachers. Mention must be made of the distractors (sentences vi-x) on page 189 where the plural living nouns have "them" for pronominal reference - in contrast to "it" for the plural

non-living nouns in sentences i-v on the same page. Of both the clerks and teachers, there was an overall acceptance of all five of these sentences, although there were just three and one respectively among the teachers and clerks, who queried the pronoun "them" for bacteria. This could be purely due to the misconception that bacteria does not connote a living noun i.e. bacteria is taken as a non-living noun. However, other than this small percentage of non-acceptance (10% of the clerks and 4.3% of the teachers) for this one particular example, (as against 90% and 95.7% acceptance of the same) there was an acceptance rate of 100% for all the other sentences by both teachers and clerks, to show that living nouns make the singular/plural differentiation for pronominal reference in M.E.

Generally speaking, the very fact that there is a percentage rating of even 30% is indicative that such indigenization is present among M.E. speakers - and especially so when the group involved is a teacher group at that. The figures reach 50% and 60% among them whilst for the clerical groups they range above 50%, reaching 80%.

The three sentences containing the possessive pronouns with such non-living nouns have the following figures of acceptance:

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentence (vi)	49%	80%
(vii)	33%	60%
(viii)	49%	40%

TABLE 16: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF SINGULAR POSSESSIVE PRONOUN FOR PLURAL NON-LIVING NOUNS

The percentage of acceptance by the teachers seems lower generally. The clerks, however, still have 80% and 60% as their higher figures. The average percentage for the teachers thus is 44% whilst for the clerks it is 60%.

As for the sentences with the reflexive pronouns, the following are the figures:

	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentences (ix)	34%	80%
(x)	14%	0%
(xi)	29%	80%

TABLE 17: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF SINGULAR REFLEXIVE PRONOUN FOR PLURAL NON-LIVING NOUNS

Where the clerks accept two of the three sentences on an 80% scale, there is only 34% and 29% acceptance of the same two sentences by the teachers. However the odd one out is the

phrase "pianos itself" which was, ironically enough, accepted at least by 14% of the teachers, but by none at all from the clerical group. Unexpected results like these focus the need for further research on a wider scale on this and the previous type of indigenization feature viz. the possessive pronoun in relation to the non-living nouns.

CHAPTER III - VP STRUCTURE

I - REMOTENESS/TENSE DISTINCTIONS

II - MODAL VERBS

III - STATIVITY AND PROGRESSIVITY

"REMOTENESS DISTINCTIONS" IN M.E.

Tense in M.E. is based on the semantic parameter "temporal distance" (Dahl's terms) as its main criterion. What at first seems to be an arbitrary exchange of tense and aspect manifestations in M.E. is not really arbitrary but representative of a tense system simplified on the basis of how far action points are from the time of speech (i.e. deictic centre). "Temporal distance," Dahl (1985: 121) explains, "involves a measurement of the distance between two points or intervals in time: this implies that for the parameter to be relevant, at least two such points should be involved in the interpretation of such a sentence". He also uses the term "remoteness distinction" in lieu of "temporal distance" to denote these grammatical categories that are used to mark how far time points are from each other.

REICHENBACH'S THREE-POINT SYSTEM:

The M.E. concept of temporal distance lies in the distinction in the degree of remoteness between the point of actual action and the deictic centre. Reichenbach's (1947) three-point system (also in McCoard 1978) - is best utilised here to elucidate the various referral points viz. the three points in time:

S (speech point i.e. deictic centre)

R (reference point)

E (event point i.e. point of actual action)

Thus in B.E., for example, we'd have the sentence:

"She had sung the song" represented in terms of:

S = time at which this sentence was uttered

R = time referred to by the speaker (in this case it
is not the same as but earlier than S)

E = time when she actually sang the song (in this
case, earlier than R)

Time is conceived linearly and ordered from left to
right from past to present and future. Applying this
three-point system to the other basic tenses in B.E. we have:

- (i) "I eat" where $S = R = E$
(speech, reference and event points are identical)
- (ii) "I ate" where $R = E$ whilst S follows this point.
- (iii) "I have eaten" where $S = R$ and E precedes this point.
- (iv) "I had eaten" where R precedes S and E precedes R.

Representing these four sentences linearly we have
the following time-lines (where ↓ indicates the time of
speech - the deictic centre - and time is ordered from left to

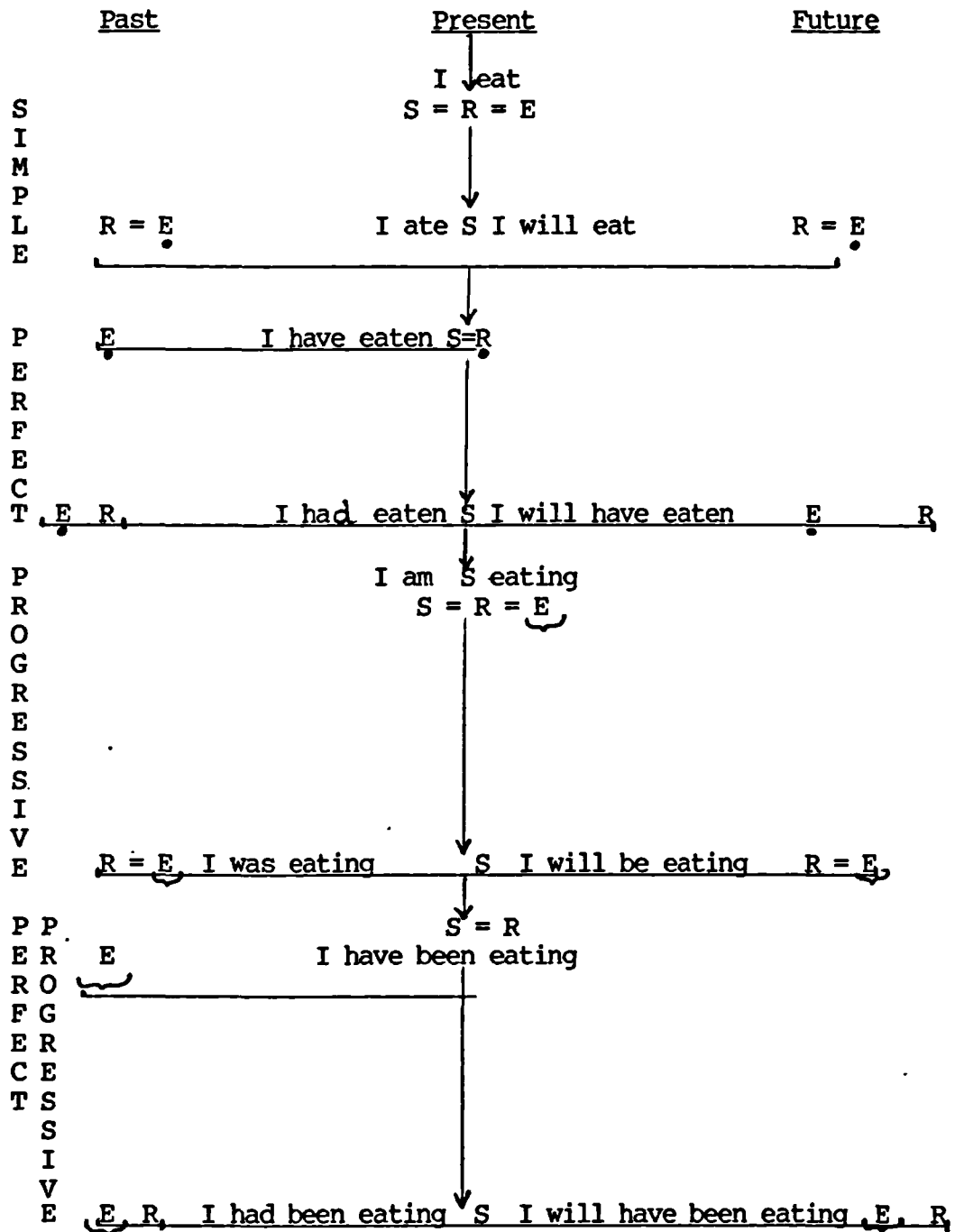
right from past to present)

(i) "I eat"	-	$\frac{\downarrow}{S=R=E}$
(ii) "I ate"	-	$\frac{\quad}{R=E} \quad \downarrow S$
(iii) "I have eaten"	-	$\frac{\quad}{E} \quad \downarrow S=R$
(iv) "I had eaten"	-	$\frac{\quad}{E \quad R} \quad \downarrow S$

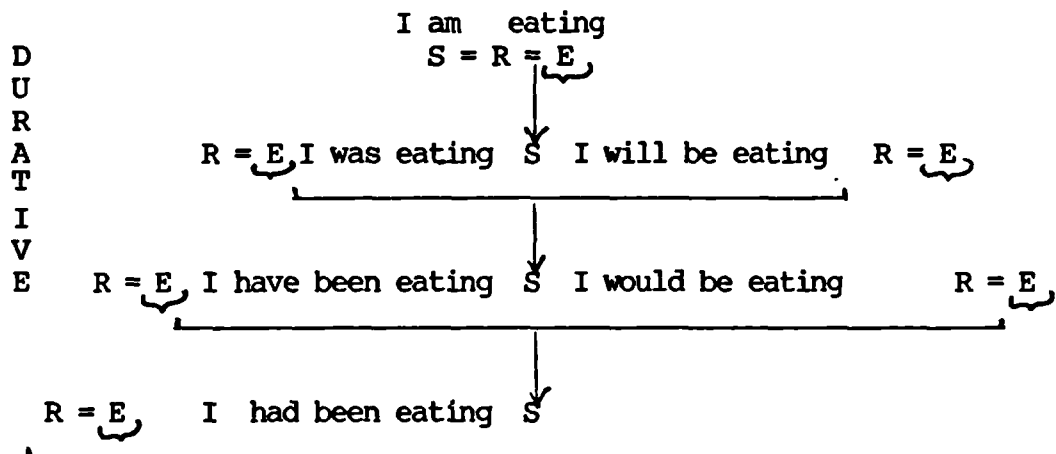
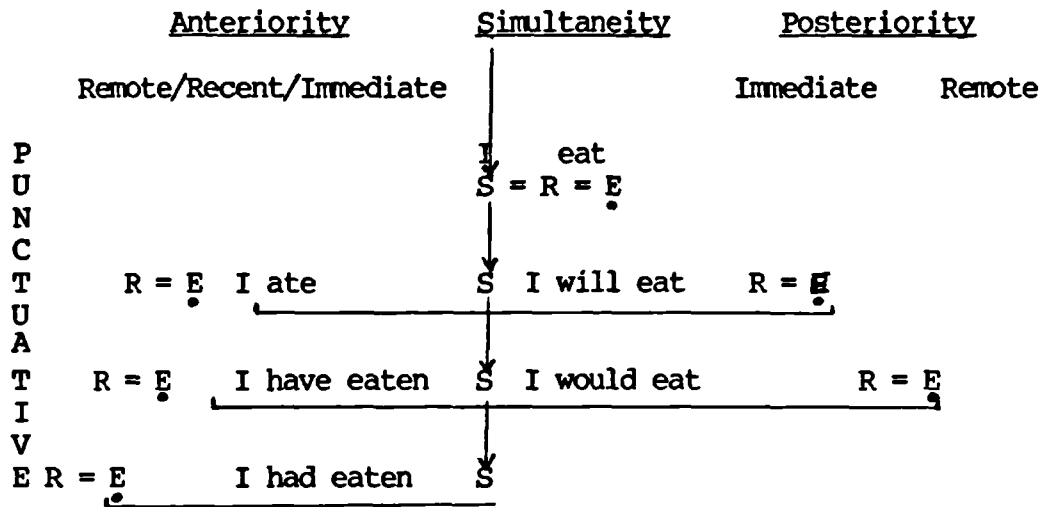
B.E. System VS M.E. System

Where in B.E. there is a network of time representations of absolute and relative tense and aspect, in M.E. this network is represented in a comparatively simplified manner, with the time lapse between actual action and deictic centre as the main factor.

A brief look at the B.E. system followed by the simplified M.E. system would enlighten us here: (where a dot (.) represents a point of completed or punctuative action shorter in nature than that represented by a curly bracket (\frown) indicating a period or length of durative or continual action i.e. action in progress).



B.E. Tense System (in terms of Reichenbach's
3 point distribution)



M.E. Tense System

Simple and Progressive Versus Punctuative and Durative

It will be realised that where the B.E. representation of time incorporates not just tense but aspect as well, with a variable representation in terms of the points S, R and E, the M.E. system narrows this down in terms of temporal distance - the main difference in aspect being that between what I'd term 'punctuative' action - where the action is complete and takes a shorter period of time, and 'durative' action - where the action lasts for a length of time - continual, ongoing or progressive action.

In the diagrams above, this difference between punctuative and durative actions is represented by the dot and the curly bracket respectively.

Reduction of Three-point to Two-point system

Returning to Reichenbach's SRE system, it will be noticed that where in B.E., S, R and E converge at the same point only for Simple Present and Progressive Present Tenses, S, R and E have varied distribution patterns for the other tense and aspect combinations. This complication does not occur in M.E. where apart from the similar convergence of S, R

and E at Simple Present and Progressive Present Tenses, the distribution patterns of S, R and E are identical for all the other tense combinations, where R is always equal to E (the point of reference is always the event point), unlike in B.E. where this is not always necessarily so. In other words, although R is a point and E is an event (which may at times be continuous - viz. "At midnight, I was (still) working"), R is always included in E, not before or after E, as is the case in B.E. S, of course, is always at the present moment i.e. the deictic centre (as it is with B.E.). This implies that Reichenbach's three-point system, where wholly applicable to the B.E. tense system, would be reduced to a two-point system in M.E.

I use Reichenbach's system here mainly to show the simplification process that is operant between B.E. and the variant M.E. tense system - its convenience being that there are no further parameters in terms of notions like continuing validity of a past event, future in the past etc. Other attempts at temporal representation (e.g. Bull's axes system (1963) (McCoard - 1978) or Allen's time inclusion system (Allen, 1966; McCoard 1978) seem inappropriate here in terms of showing the simplification process viz from three to just two points in time-reference.

Thus I posit that this two-point system shows clearly enough the M.E. tendency towards a linear ordering of time-action relationship - the fulcrum of the main division being the present moment.

Anteriority, Simultaneity and Posteriority

Thus temporal sequence from the deictic centre is what is most prominent in M.E. tense, where past time and action refers to some point before the present moment - "anterior" to it (McCoard's term), (McCoard, 1978) whilst future time and action refers to some point after the present moment - "posterior" to it. Present time and action therefore refers to the moment simultaneous with the deictic centre. The actual grammatical realizations of these are determined by the temporal distance of the actual event from this point of speech, which is the usual deictic centre for most tense systems, although there are some languages where other deictic centres are operant (Comrie quotes Bamileke - Dschang as a clear case) (Comrie, 1985).

Tense Distinctions in M.E.

Coming on to the exact tense distinctions themselves, M.E. has three time references as far as anteriority is

concerned. The verb denoting anterior action nearest the deictic centre is the 'immediate past' verb, taking the B.E. "Simple" (Preterite) tense form i.e. V(past). The next verb denoting anterior action is the "recent past" verb which takes the B.E. "Present Perfect" form i.e. Aux (Have) + V(en), whilst the most anterior verb, the "remote past" verb, has the B.E. "Past Perfect i.e. Pluperfect" form. The same holds for the durative anterior verbs as well viz:

Immediate past: "was + Ving"

Recent past: "have been + Ving"

Remote past: "had been + Ving"

Simultaneity in M.E. is expressed in the normal B.E. forms i.e. "V Present" and "am + Ving" for the punctuative and durative actions respectively.

As for posteriority, the tense distinction is only two - fold. Thus we have the immediate future verb which takes the B.E. "Simple" form with the futurity auxiliary "will", whilst the remote or distant future verb takes this same form except for the modal "will" which becomes "would" instead.

Thus we have:

Immediate future: "will + V"

Remote future: "would + V"
(distant)

Asymmetry in Tense Distinction

Although temporal distance in M.E. is used with reference to the times anterior and posterior to the deictic centre, it will be noticed that the anterior opposition points are not symmetrical to the posterior opposition points. In other words, the three-way opposition showing anteriority is not balanced by a similar number of opposition points showing posteriority, as is shown in the diagram below:

ANTERIORITY (PAST)			SIMULTANEITY (PRESENT)	POSTERIORITY (FUTURE)	
Remote Past (last month, 3 months ago, last year etc.)	Recent Past (Yesterday last night, and 3 weeks ago etc.)	Immediate Past (Today, just now, This morning etc.)	Now (Today, now)	Immediate Future (tonight, today)	Remote Future (next week, next month, after a month, next year, 3 months later)
I had eaten	I have eaten	I ate	I eat	I will eat	I would eat
I'd been eating	I've been eating	I was eating	I am eating	I'll be eating	I'd be eating

This imbalance in the number of distinctions made is not unusual, although many of the languages which have such remoteness distinctions, have them equally anterior and posterior to the deictic centre. (Comrie, 1985:87)

Cut-off points between anterior and posterior events

In considering the number of tense distinctions, it is important to ask where the cut-off-points are between one tense and another. As can be seen in the diagram, the basic dividing line is between "today" and "yesterday". Thus with reference to anteriority, we have:

<u>Remote Past</u>	<u>Recent Past</u>	<u>Immediate Past</u>
(Past-last month and earlier)	(Past-yesterday) and Up to a month)	(Past-today)
I had eaten	I have eaten	I ate

where the "immediate past" (Comrie's "hodiernal" past) covers action that happened today, whilst the "recent past" (Comrie's "hesternal" past) covers action that happened yesterday and upto about a month previous to that. Lastly, there is the "remote past" which has vague and less clear-cut temporal manifestations ranging from last month to last year or even further (e.g. "ages ago"). It will be realised therefore that

the use of the primary auxiliaries "have" and "had" in M.E. is not similar to their use in B.E. aspect. Where in M.E. they denote tense, in B.E. they denote aspect or non-deictic tense. Thus the semantic dimensions like current relevance, recency, indefinite or experiential past that hold in B.E. are not operant in M.E. (The same follows for durative action with the verb "to be" added in all three cases). The auxiliaries "have" and "had" in M.E. mark the tense distinctions of anteriority in terms of the cut-off points between immediate, recent and remote pasts.

As for the two-way opposition for future-time reference, the cut-off point is between today and tomorrow.

Thus we have:

Immediate Future

(Today, now, tonight)

I will eat

Remote Future

(Tomorrow, next month,
next year etc.)

I would eat

Where anterior action is seen in terms of today, yesterday and the period a month before the present moment, posterior action

is seen in terms of today and tomorrow (and later) from the present moment.

A look at some examples with increasingly remote time adverbs will show their effect on verb tense in M.E., where anteriority and posteriority are concerned.

For example if S = midday on 15th November 1986, we would have:

I practise the piano now.

or I am practising the piano now.

But from here, considering anterior time and action, we have:

I <u>practised</u>	the piano	{ this morning }
<u>was practising</u>		{ an hour ago }
I <u>have practised</u>	the piano	{ last night yesterday morning on 13/11/86 on 12/11/86 one day last week last Tuesday Saturday before last on 1/11/86 on 28/10/86 on 20/10/86 }
<u>have been practising</u>		

I <u>had practised</u> the piano	{	on 15/10/86
<u>had been practising</u>		on 13/10/86
		one day last month
		one day a couple of months ago.

As for posterior time and action, we have:

I <u>will practise</u> the piano	{	this afternoon
<u>will be practising</u>		this evening
		tonight
I <u>would practise</u> the piano	{	tomorrow
<u>would be practising</u>		next week
		next month
		next year etc.

Sequence of tense combinations

The tense system in M.E. is clear cut not only in instances of single absolute tense alone. In cases where there is a sequence of two temporal possibilities or more, what happens is that the adverb nearest the verb determines the form of the tense taken by the verb. For example in a sentence like:

"I will practise today and tomorrow"

if the normal M.E. system holds, there would have to be two sentences viz:

"I will practise today" and

"I would practise tomorrow"

This redundancy, however, is not necessary since the verb takes the form nearest the temporal adverb "today".

In instances where there are two or more finite verbs of identical anteriority for example, as in a sentence like:

(i) "When she came she realised that I left",

as compared to

(ii) "When she came she realised that I have left"
and

(iii) "When she came she realised that I had left",

the temporal orientation of the main verb in the main clause is the immediate past i.e. "When she came, she realised", but the verb in the subordinate clause "that I left/have left/had left" shows that this action of leaving occurred either in the immediate, recent or remote pasts respectively relative to the deictic centre(s). Thus it is clear that in the first sentence, the temporal orientation is through out in the

immediate past, whereas in each of the second and third sentences there are two time - phases - a back-shifting from immediate to recent or remote pasts respectively.

The same feature holds for other connectives as well, seen in the following examples:

Before she came, she realised that I left.

Before she came, she realised that I have left.

Before she came, she realised that I had left.

After she came, she realised that I left.

After she came, she realised that I have left.

After she came, she realised, that I had left.

Just as she came, she realised that I left.

Just as she came, she realised that I have left.

Just as she came, she realised that I had left.

In another example, we have a verb sequence involving forward - shifting in temporal orientation:

"I had seen and informed her that I would confirm as soon as I would get the results".

It is clear here that "had seen" and "(had) informed" refer to action occurring about a month or more than a month ago, whilst "I would confirm" and "I would get" refer to a range of time from "tomorrow" to "many months or years later than today". The exact recency or remoteness of such verbs can be either provided by the context or categorically shown by adverbs.

A few more examples of such sequences of tense combinations, in contrast with B.E. will be helpful:

(a) B.E. When they arrived, they said that they had been waiting for one hour for a bus.

M.E. When they arrived, they said that they were waiting for one hour for a bus.

(b) B.E. When they arrived, they said that they had been waiting last night for the phone-call.

M.E. When they arrived, they said that they have been waiting last night for the phone-call.

(c) B.E. When they arrived, they said that they had been waiting the past one month for our reply.

M.E. When they arrived, they said that they have been waiting the past one month for our reply.

(d) B.E. When they arrived, they said that they had been waiting the whole of last term for our reply.

M.E. When they arrived, they said that they had been waiting the whole of last term for our reply.

(e) B.E. When she left, she said that she will return tonight.

M.E. When she left, she said that she will return tonight

(f) B.E. When she left, she said that she will return tomorrow/
next week/next month.

M.E. When she left, she said that she would return
tomorrow/next week/next month.

Thus, in the (a) to (d) examples, showing a sequence of verbs, with the final verb showing anteriority, the M.E. equivalents of the B.E. "had been waiting" phrase were

(i) were waiting

(ii) have been waiting and

(iii) had been waiting,

determined by the time and therefore, remoteness of the verb (from the deictic centre). Likewise, in the (e) and (f) examples, showing a sequence of verbs where the final verb shows posteriority, the M.E. equivalents of the B.E. "will return" were

(i) will return and

(ii) would return,

the first phrase being similar as it is the immediate future that is being referred to (to-night), whilst (ii) is used in M.E. (instead of the B.E. "will return") as it is the remote future that is being referred to (ranging from tomorrow to next month, etc).

Thus in combinations of two or more verbs, both the actions - whether of same nature (i.e. both punctuative or both durative) or of differing natures (i.e. one punctuative and the other durative), are located at identical time points (of identical distance from the deictic centre, S) or located at points close enough to make it pragmatically viable in M.E. for example, at recent and immediate past points. Consequently, the most salient point is that each verb is related by tense directly to S, i.e. the relations between the verbs is not important, unlike in B.E.

Taking the simple example of "He was naughty when he was young" in B.E., the M.E. version would be:

"He had been naughty when he had been young", where the period "when he was young" is pragmatically conceived as

being in the remote past (it couldn't have been just in the recent past that he suddenly grew old). Here both the verbs (both in B.E. as well as in M.E.) are punctuative (in the "simple past") "was" and "had been" with no aspect of perfectivity or progressivity involved. Other examples of a combination of tense (+ aspect) features in B.E. would be the following, with their M.E. equivalents following each of these respectively:

B.E. He had been ill when I called him

M.E. He had been ill earlier on when I had called him

or He has been ill earlier on when I have called him

or He was ill earlier on when I called him

B.E. He left when I arrived

M.E. He left when I arrived

B.E. He left when I had arrived

M.E. He had left when I had arrived earlier on

or He has left when I have arrived earlier on

or He left when I arrived earlier on

B.E. He had left when I arrived

M.E. He had left earlier on when I had arrived

or He has left earlier on when I have arrived

He left earlier on when I arrived

Taking this sentence further with a few more of the possible temporal connectives (other than "when" already seen here), we have:

B.E. He left after I arrived

M.E. He left after I arrived

B.E. He left after I had arrived

M.E. He had left after I had arrived earlier on

or He has left after I have arrived earlier on

or He left after I already arrived

B.E. He left before I arrived

M.E. He left before I arrived

B.E. He had left before I arrived

M.E. He had left earlier on before I had arrived

or He has left earlier on before I have arrived

or He already left before I arrived

As for sequences of tenses involving a combination of the punctuative and durative verbs, tense forms are still chosen and interpreted deictically, whereas in B.E. the subordinate tenses are, as usual, taken relatively to those of the main verb. A few examples with such combinations in B.E. followed by their equivalents in M.E. are:

B.E. "When I returned from the States last year, John was working in Selfridges"

M.E. "When I had returned from the States last year, John had been working in Selfridges"

B.E. "If I understand the letter correctly, she will be leaving for Britain next week"

M.E. "If I understand the letter correctly, she would be leaving for Britain next week"

B.E. "As I had spoken to her about this, I was relying on her support"

M.E. "As I had spoken to her earlier on about this, I had been relying on her support"

B.E. "When she drove into town last week, the rioters were picketing in front of her office"

M.E. "When she has driven into town last week, the rioters have been picketing in front of her office".

B.E. "After he had joined the Salvation Army, he was staying in the Officer's Mess"

M.E. "After he had joined the Salvation Army, he had been staying in the Officer's Mess"

Taking such examples a little further with the addition of temporal adverbials we have:

B.E. "He had been working every morning when I called him"

M.E. "He had been working earlier on, every morning when I had called him" or

"He has been working earlier on, every morning when I have called him"

B.E. "She had been crying the whole night when I saw her"

M.E. "She had been crying the whole night before, when
I had seen her" or

"She has been crying the whole night before, when
I saw her"

B.E. "She had been practising yoga daily for the last
six months when she had the prolapse"

M.E. "She had been practising yoga daily for the last
six months when she had had the prolapse"

B.E. "She had been working hard until I met her"

M.E. "She had been working hard earlier on until I had
met her" or

"She has been working hard earlier on until I have
met her" or

"She was working hard earlier on until I met her"

B.E. "She will be graduating next year when she
completes her final year"

M.E. "She would be graduating next year when she would
complete her final year"

Thus where the B.E. combination of Simple and
Progressive holds, M.E. has the corresponding temporal
combination of punctuative and durative with the "had/have"

auxiliary for punctuative anteriority and "had/have + verb (to be) + ing" for durative anteriority. Likewise for posterior time and action, where B.E. has "will + V(to be)", or Simple Present (expressing futurity), M.E. has "would + V(to be)", with the "ing" inflection for durative action. In other words, the same rules for choice of tense apply to the durative as to the non-durative (punctuative) verbs in M.E.

Expression of some aspects of relative time in M.E.

It will be realised from the above examples that there are instances in M.E. where, besides just location of both the verbs at identical points, additional structures are added to enable equivalence in meaning to the B.E. examples. A closer look at just one sentence and its possibilities would enlighten us further here:

B.E. "He left when I arrived"

M.E. "He left when I arrived"

This example is a straight forward case of both verbs being in the "Simple" past in B.E.; likewise in M.E., the pattern is identical - with the factor that the temporal orientation of the entire sentence is in the immediate past.

B.E. "He left when I had arrived"

M.E. "He left when I arrived earlier on"

The temporal sequence of the above two sentences (given in index form) would be:

B.E. He left when I had arrived

t1 t2 t3 t4

t1 precedes S (deictic centre)

t2 = t1

t3 = t2 (therefore = t1)

t4 precedes t3

Therefore $t4 < t3 = t2 = t1$ (< stands for "before")

M.E. He left when I arrived earlier on.

t1 t2 t3

t1 precedes S (by degree 1 i.e. it is in the immediate past)

t2 = t1

t3 precedes t2

Therefore $t3 < t2 = t1$

The other alternatives to this sentence are:

M.E. "He has left when I have arrived earlier on"
 and M.E. "He had left when I had arrived earlier on"

t1 t2 t3

The same formula holds for the verb sequence i.e.
 $t_3 < t_2 = t_1$, with the difference that t1 precedes S by
 degree 2 (recent past) and 3 (remote past) respectively,
 instead of degree 1.

Thus where the M.E. representations always have $t_3 < t_2 = t_1$,
 the B.E. equivalent has a slight shift in temporal sequence
 with the formula $t_4 < t_3 = t_2 = t_1$

B.E. "He had left when I arrived"

M.E. "He already left when I arrived"

(both actions in the immediate past in M.E. with
 "already" showing earlier action).

Again, considering temporal sequencing, we have:

B.E. "He had left when I arrived"

t3 t4 t2 t1

t1 precedes S (deictic centre)

$$t_2 = t_1$$

$$t_3 = t_2 \text{ (therefore } = t_1)$$

t_4 precedes t_3

$$\text{Therefore } t_4 < t_3 = t_2 = t_1$$

M.E. He already left when I arrived

t_3 t_2 t_1

t_1 precedes S (by degree 1)

$$t_2 = t_1$$

$$t_3 < t_2$$

$$\text{Therefore } t_3 < t_2 = t_1$$

The other alternatives in M.E. are:

M.E. "He already has left when I have arrived"

and M.E. "He already had left when I had arrived"

t_3 t_2 t_1

Earlier action is indicated by "already" for the verb "left" whilst the same formula holds for the verb sequence i.e. $t_3 < t_2 = t_1$, where t_1 precedes S by degree 2 and 3 respectively, in other words t_1 (and therefore t_2) are located in the recent and remote pasts respectively.

Thus as far as relative time goes, the only meaning which holds in M.E. is that of complete pastness - which is expressed not in the verbal structure of the auxiliary "had/has" but by alternative devices like temporal adverbials such as "already" and "earlier on", as seen here.

Co-Occurrence of Temporal Adverbials

Another point of difference which thus surfaces between B.E. and M.E. is in the co-occurrence restrictions on temporal adverbials, with the Perfect i.e. (have + Ven). Comrie (1976) specifies that "the Perfect may not be used together with the specification of the time of the past situation because the specific reference to the point of time is incompatible with the English Perfect". He continues to make the exception, however, explaining that "provided the time includes the present as in "I have seen Fred today" or in the experiential perfect which also admits of specification of a point of time e.g. "I have (on some occasion in the past) got up at five o'clock", time adverbials are permissible with the Perfect. Similarly, he continues to say that "temporal specification is acceptable in English, provided it is added as an after-thought to a sentence with a Perfect verb e.g. "I have been to Birmingham, last week in fact" or as a reply to a question, e.g. "Have you finished your article on Tibetan

morphology? Yes, last week⁸. However, in M.E. time specification with the B.E. Perfect form occurs purely because, as stated earlier, the use of the auxiliaries "have/had", although showing anteriority of an event, does not connote other semantic parameters. In other words, the auxiliaries "have/had" in M.E. have a different meaning of pastness to that in B.E. Where in B.E. they are Perfective in nature (both Present and Past), in M.E. it is recent or remote anteriority that is denoted by these auxiliaries, i.e. in B.E. they denote Aspect, whilst in M.E. they denote merely deictic tense. This being so, we notice the ease and frequency with which temporal adverbs co-occur with M.E. recent and remote past verbs, some examples being:

- (i) "She had gone to Europe last year for training and is now back for good"
- (ii) "Mara students have been on strike last week"
- (iii) "She has been reminded of the meeting yesterday"
- (iv) "The directors of MAS have finalised the flight details during last night's meeting"
- (v) "Mazlan would not celebrate Hari Raya this year as his father had passed away in January.
(spoken in April, referring to Hari Raya in June)

- (vi) "With all the experience he had obtained at the University Hospital these past five years, he should be a very suitable candidate for the post"
- (vii) "Although they had not saved enough last year for a holiday, they are planning to go to Europe"
- (viii) "They had bought this house six months ago"

For example, in (vii) the B.E. verb would have been "have" instead of "had" (without the temporal adverbial "last year"), to show the current relevance of the state of their not having "saved enough" (and yet "they are planning to go to Europe" - currently, that is). Similarly, with sentence (vi) "had obtained" would have been "has obtained" in B.E. for the same reason.

Bahasa Malaysia As a Possible Influencing Factor?

A look at verbs and tense representation in Bahasa Malaysia would perhaps be useful to enable one to speculate whether the M.E. system has been influenced by B.M. or not.

B.M. non-lexical verbs are basically divided into two types - the aspectual and the modal verbs. Aspectual verbs refer to actions or situations that either have not occurred (thus future i.e. posterior events), are simultaneous (thus

present events) or have occurred (thus past i.e. anterior events).

Such verbs are connected to time in terms of temporal sequential ordering - i.e. anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority, the grammatical manifestations being:

- (a) Sudah, pernah, telah (only in discourse)
(showing actions anterior to the deictic centre)
- (b) Sedang, masih, tengah (only in discourse)
(showing actions simultaneous to the deictic centre)
- (c) akan (showing actions posterior to the deictic centre).

Thus it will be noticed that the concepts of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority are present in BM but only in terms of a deictic or sequential time frame i.e. tense. Any backward or forward shifting incorporating concepts like past in the present, future in the past and the like are denoted by temporal adverbials. This is illustrated in the following:

B.E. (a) I had bought a new car

B.M. Saya (sudah) membeli sebuah kereta baru
(I (had/have) buy a (classifier) car new)

B.E. (b) I have bought a new car
Saya (sudah) membeli sebuah kereta baru
(I (had/have) buy a car new)

B.E. (c) I bought a new car
Saya (sudah) membeli sebuah kereta baru
(I (had/have) buy a car new)

In (a) and (b) although B.E. shows the difference between reference and event points by way of the auxiliary ("had" versus "have), B.M. uses the same "sudah" (or "telah" in discourse) auxiliary verb for both - which can still be used for (c) as well. Thus although these verbs show anteriority, they do not show the notional semantic parameters normally associated with the B.E. Perfect. If the difference between the B.E. (a) and (b) as against (c) were to be shown in B.M., it would be by way of an adverbial like "earlier" "before this", "yesterday", "last year", "then" etc. For example:

B.E. "I had bought a new car"

B.M. "Saya (sudah) membeli sebuah kereta baru
pada masa itu (then) or sebelum itu (before then)"

Thus there would be no difference in expressing B.E. (a) or (b) in B.M. - both "had bought" and "have bought" would be "(sudah) membeli" with or without the adverbial. If it is without the adverbial, then the temporal location would be specified by the rest of the context - e.g. the contextual setting would indicate the temporal orientation of the event. The same is the case with (c) where the B.E. preterite can occur with or without an auxiliary in B.M.

It must be pointed out here that B.M. does not show tense in its lexical verbs either, as seen in the following examples:

B.E. (d) "I bought a new car

B.M. Saya (sudah) membeli sebuah kereta baru
(+ temporal adverbial)

B.E. (e) I buy a new car

B.M. Saya membeli sebuah kereta baru
(+ temporal adverbial)

B.E. (f) I will buy a new car

B.M. Saya (akan) membeli sebuah kereta baru
(+ temporal adverbial)

Thus if anteriority, simultaneity or posteriority in terms of tense i.e. pastness, presentness or futurity, is to be shown, it is best shown by temporal adverbials, like "yesterday" (semalam), "now" (sekarang), "today" (hari ini), "tomorrow" (esok) with or without the addition of the auxiliary verbs like "sudah" or "akan". In other words, tense in B.M. is not marked in its lexical or non-lexical verbs, unlike in B.E. The same can be said of verbs showing posteriority as can be seen in the following sentences:

B.E. (g) I will have eaten

B.M. Saya akan habis makan pada masa itu
(I will have eaten at time that)

B.E. (h) I will eat

B.M. Saya (akan) makan

Temporal Sequence from deictic centre versus temporal distance

It is at this point that the question of B.M.'s influence in M.E. needs to be considered. Although B.M. differentiates temporal orientation in terms of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority, the question of temporal distance from the deictic centre is not represented in any

verbal structure in B.M. The following comparisons will show how where B.M. shows no difference in representation between anterior events (no matter how recent or remote they are from the deictic centre), M.E.'s equivalents categorically denote the various degrees of remoteness:

M.E. (a) I had sold the house

B.M. Saya (sudah) jual rumah itu
(I (have/had) sold house that)
(sell)

M.E. (b) I have sold the house

B.M. Saya (sudah) jual rumah itu
(I (have/had) sold house that)
(sell)

M.E. (c) I sold the house

B.M. Saya (sudah) jual rumah itu
(I (have/had) sold house that)
(sell)

M.E. (d) She had represented Malaysia at the SEAP Games

B.M. Dia (pernah) mewakili Malaysia di Sukan SEAP
She (had/has) represented Malaysia at Games SEAP)

M.E. (e) She has represented Malaysia at the SEAP Games

B.M. Dia (pernah) mewakili Malaysia di Sukan SEAP
(She (had/has) represented Malaysia at Games SEAP)

M.E. (f) She represented Malaysia at the SEAP Games

B.M. Dia (pernah) mewakili Malaysia di Sukan SEAP
(She (has/had) represented Malaysia at Games SEAP)

Likewise for posterior events in M.E., B.M. makes no distinction in the representation of temporal distance. For example:

M.E. (g) He will leave tomorrow for Canada

B.M. Dia (akan) bertolak esok ke Canada
(He (will) leave tomorrow for Canada)

M.E. (h) He would leave next year for Canada

B.M. Dia (akan) bertolak pada tahun depan ke Canada
(He (will) leave year next for Canada)

M.E. (i) They will be performing tonight at the Civic Centre

B.M. Mereka (akan) berlakon malam ini di Pusat Sivik

(They (will) perform night this at Centre Civic)

M.E. (j) They would be performing next year at the Civic Centre

B.M. Mereka (akan) berlakon tahun depan di Pusat Sivik

(They (will) perform year next at Centre Civic)

Thus it will be clear that where temporal distance is relevant and significant in M.E. it is not significant in B.M. Although B.M. has aspectual verbs, it will be realised that these verbs just denote temporal sequence ordering with the deictic centre in terms of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority but go no further than that in differentiating or gauging temporal distance from the deictic centre. Therefore although it may seem tempting to posit that the M.E. variation in tense representation is an influence of B.M., one is impeded by the fact that B.M. does not have remoteness distinctions in its

tense representation. The only possible sphere of influence could be said to be the point of orientation from the deictic centre (where tense is deictic for both main and subordinate clauses) but as far as remoteness distinctions or temporal distance is concerned, B.M. is not a possible source of influence in M.E.

It is clear therefore that M.E. differs from B.E. in its tense representation in terms of the following factors:

- (a) Tense in M.E. is deictic whereas in B.E. tense is taken relative to some intervening reference point(s) which link the event time to the utterance time. This is especially obvious in tenses other than the Simple Tenses (viz Perfect). This is further made clear in subordinate tenses where the main verb and subordinate verbs are all deictically ordered in M.E. whilst in B.E. subordinate tenses are taken relative to those of the main verb.
- (b) Tense is temporally gauged - temporal distance from the deictic centre is significant in M.E., whilst it is not so in B.E.

The recheck questionnaire had nine sentences that incorporated structures showing tense in terms of temporal distance. The sentences, along with their percentage rates of acceptance by teachers + clerks (in that order), were:

- (i) Although they had not saved enough for a holiday, they are planning to go to Europe (80%/50%)
- (ii) I live in Ampang Jaya but from March this year, I had been staying with my cousin in Setapak (44%/30%)
- (iii) With all the experience he had obtained at the University Hospital the past five years, he should be a very suitable candidate for the post (92%/60%)
- (iv) These are the photographs I had taken at the party (80%/70%)
- (v) Mazlan would not celebrate Hari Raya this year as his father had passed away in January (80%/70%)
- (vi) She had gone to Europe last year for training and is now back for good (73%/50%)
- (vii) She has been reminded of the meeting yesterday (50%/40%)

- (viii) The directors of MAS have finalised the flight details during last night's meeting (84%/60%)
- (ix) MARA students have been on strike last week (64%/30%)

Putting the figures together in tabulated form, we have:

		<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentence	(i)	80%	50%
	(ii)	44%	30%
	(iii)	92%	60%
	(iv)	80%	70%
	(v)	80%	70%
	(vi)	73%	50%
	(vii)	50%	40%
	(viii)	84%	60%
	(ix)	64%	30%

TABLE 18: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF TEMPORALLY - DISTANCED TENSE FORMS

Although some of the figures above show similar ratings viz. (iv) and (v) between teachers and clerks, the general picture is one of a greater degree of acceptance by

the teachers than by the clerks. The pattern of acceptance of the nine sentences between teachers and clerks is similar - for example, (ii), (vii) and (ix) are comparatively low in both groups, whilst (iii) and (viii) are slightly higher in terms of acceptance in both groups.

Most of the sentences (other than (i) and (iv)) have temporal adverbials. This therefore could be considered a guide to the testees, who had no other guide (contextual setting etc) to these structures in the given sentences. This drawback - viz. the fact that the sentences are in isolation - could be an explanation to the clerks' lower degree of acceptance of these sentences.

THE MODAL VERBS IN M.E.

The modals in B.E. have a kaleidoscope of meanings that many have attempted to describe, resulting in the equally variegated attempts at doing so. Some descriptions take a "basic meaning" approach (with "overtones" as the secondary meanings) whilst others take a polysemantic approach, differentiating between epistemic and non-epistemic meanings, with various terminologies involved for each of the semantic categories. Along with these factors, the notion of tense also comes into force when many of these meanings have tense implications inter-playing on them. All these multifarious combinations and permutations of modals, meanings and tense are somewhat narrowed down to a much simpler and straight-laced system in M.E.

Among the literature dealing with the B.E. modals in some depth (those consulted for this purpose were Leech, Palmer, Coates, Ehrman, Quirk, Lyons, Huddleston, and Haegeman), it will be found that the following basic meanings are recurrent in each of the treatments, sometimes with labels or terms varying from one author to the other. The occasional extra meaning sometimes is recognised by one or two linguists for e.g. the modal "can" has the meaning "characteristic"

(Palmer 1965:116) as in "She can be catty", and "sensation" as in "I can see the moon/I can hear music", (Palmer 1965:116) although it is not found in most of the others. The meanings "permission", "possibility" and "ability" of "CAN" on the other hand, recur in all the treatments. At the same time, one could say really that "sensation" is a sub meaning of "ability" (except that the lexical verb that CAN attaches itself to is a stative instead of a dynamic verb), hence the difference between "I can see" and "I can swim", with the consequent implications of this difference. The meaning "characteristic" can also be subsumed under the meaning "possibility" as in "She can be strict" i.e. there is a possibility or it is possible that she is strict, as she has the characteristic potential of being so (it is her nature to be so, when and if she chooses to do so). Thus it will be noticed that there is an overlap of meaning in some of the modal verbs in B.E., and further detailed study of the other modal verbs will further confirm this as well. This being so, for the present purpose (of attempting to describe the modal verbs operant in M.E.), a summary of just the basic meanings will suffice.

Taking only the "central modals" (Quirk, 1985) of CAN, COULD, MAY, MIGHT, WILL, WOULD, SHALL, SHOULD and MUST in B.E. into consideration, the following meanings were found to

be common core meanings (with epistemic or non-epistemic nuances influencing them):

CAN	- possibility, permission, ability
COULD	- past tense of the above meanings plus hypothetical use
MAY	- possibility, permission, quasi subjunctive (hypothetical)
MIGHT	- past tense of the first two meanings plus hypothetical use of the same
WILL	- futurity, probability, volition
WOULD	- past tense as well as hypothetical use of the above meanings (e.g. future in the past - "He said he would").
SHALL	- futurity, probability, volition
SHOULD	- futurity, obligation, necessity
MUST	- compulsion, obligation, necessity, inference

The "marginal modals" (Quirk 1985:138) like "dare" and "need" are not considered here as they are almost never used in M.E. A brief look at all the modals with their basic meanings in B.E. via sentence examples, with the acknowledgment of the presence or absence of the same in M.E. will enable

us to have an initial impression of the simplification process that transpires between B.E. and M.E. modal verbs. (☐ indicates the presence of these modals and meanings in M.E.)

	<u>Possibility</u>	<u>Permission</u>	<u>Ability</u>
<u>CAN</u>	It <u>can</u> be crowded She <u>can</u> be strict You <u>can</u> get confused by her talk	You <u>can</u> go home now Only boys above ten <u>can</u> join the camp	He <u>can</u> sing I <u>can</u> see They <u>can</u> come today
<u>COULD</u>	I <u>could</u> be delayed	She <u>could</u> go out if she finishes her work in time.	They <u>could</u> provide the accompaniment for her recital tomorrow
HYP	That <u>could</u> be dangerous		
PAST	That <u>could</u> 've been Leela	She <u>could</u> sit for the exam although she was under-aged	He <u>could</u> swim well and was thus able to rescue her.

	<u>Possibility</u>	<u>Permission</u>	<u>Quasi Subjective</u>
<u>MAY</u>	<div>That <u>may</u> be Veronica I <u>may</u> be delayed</div> <div>That course is arranged so that you <u>may</u> attend it on a part-time basis</div>	<p>You <u>may</u> use the car to-day</p> <p>No cars <u>may</u> be parked along this zone</p>	<p>Whatever you <u>may</u> say, she's no doubt a real winner</p>
<u>MIGHT</u>	<p>That <u>might</u> be Roslan We thought you <u>might</u> know the way</p>		
<u>HYP</u>	<p>You <u>might</u> be lucky this time</p>	<p>If I <u>might</u> interr- upt, I'd like to mention that ...</p>	<p>Whatever you <u>might</u> say, there's no thirst-quencher like beer</p>
<u>PAST</u>	<p>He <u>might</u> have lost the way</p>	<p>She told me I <u>might</u> use the car</p>	
	<u>Futurity</u>	<u>Probability</u>	<u>Volition</u>
<u>WILL</u>	<div>I <u>will</u> go there today</div> <div>She <u>will</u> miss you, I'm sure</div> <div>The new budget plan <u>will</u> be announced this evening</div>	<p>That <u>will</u> be Rahim</p> <p>You <u>will</u> know the address as you've just returned from there</p>	<div>She <u>will</u> take care of the children</div> <div>I <u>will</u> give her a proper scold- ing</div>

WOULD

HYP

I'm sure it
would rain

They would always
be quarrelling with
each other

I'd love to
have a pair of
twin daughters

PAST

He said that he
would tell the
neighbour

I was waiting to
see whether it
would rain

She said she
would turn over
a new leaf

We knew he would
be involved with
drugs

SHALL

Futurity

I shall be back
tomorrow

Probability

I'd better not
watch too much T.V
or else I shall end
up wearing glasses

Volition

I shall order
three volumes
of that journal
for the library

SHOULD

Futurity

I should think
he's reached home
by now

Obligation

They should inform
his parents

You should report
it to the police
(it's only fair, as
you have a moral
obligation to do
so)

Necessity

He should buy a
new car (it's
high time as
he badly needs
one)

She should tell
her parents
about her
migraine (it's
imperative that
she does, other
wise they may
not understand)

MUST

Compulsion

You must practise
the piano four
hours daily

Obligation

I must buy her a
nice gift. (She's
been so kind to me)

Necessity

You must brush
your teeth
daily

Children must
take enough
vitamins

On summarising the above table, it will be realised that only the modals CAN, COULD, MAY, WILL, WOULD, SHOULD and MUST are used in M.E. with the following meanings:

CAN	- permission, ability
COULD	- past tense of the above meanings
MAY	- possibility
WILL	- futurity, volition (immediate futurity)
WOULD	- futurity, volition (distant futurity)
SHOULD	- obligation, necessity
MUST	- compulsion, obligation, necessity (and inference)

CAN Taking the modals individually, the basic meanings 'permission' and 'ability' of the modal CAN are the only uses of this modal in M.E. Where the meaning of 'possibility' is concerned, the M.E. equivalents of expressing such possibility would be as follows:

B.E. It can be crowded

M.E. Sometimes maybe it is crowded
(there are times at which it is possible that it's crowded)

B.E. She can be strict

M.E. Sometimes (maybe) she is strict

There is another type of possibility which has an "ability" meaning as well, as in "She can come today" (i.e. there's nothing preventing her from coming today and therefore it's possible for her to - thus she's able to come today). "Ability" and "possibility" seem to be the meanings implied here. This situation of an overlap in meaning brings in the notion of Zadeh's "fuzzy sets" which Coates (1983:11) modifies and uses for a general model of modal meanings - where there is a "gradual transition" from one meaning to another (allowing therefore at times, an overlap in the meanings). Coates uses the terms "core", "skirt" and "periphery" to show the gradation or gradience of meaning that exists in many of the modals - explaining that "core represents the meaning learned first by children, where it corresponds usually to the cultural stereotype i.e. if you stopped people at random and said "give me an example of MUST/MAY/CAN...." they would respond with a core example (Coates, 1983:13), and yet, core examples occur infrequently. The majority of examples are found in the skirt and at the periphery. The latter often has the qualities of an "emergent category" because it is often possible to define peripheral examples by contrast with the core (i.e. if core

examples are characterized by properties A and B, then peripheral examples may be characterized by properties not A and not B). This is why a gradience model would be felt to apply." In M.E. however, there is the possibility of only one or two meanings to the modals.

In the modal "CAN", the meanings "permission" and "ability" are the only meanings used in M.E. and if the "possibility" meaning does seem emergent as well, it is subsumed under the "core" meaning of "ability" as in "She can come" or "She can take the children home" (Since she has the car and therefore it is possible - she is able to do so).

COULD As for the modal COULD, the same applies for the three basic meanings - possibility, permission and ability. The meaning of "possibility" is not shown by COULD (nor CAN, as stated earlier) in M.E. The M.E. equivalent for "possibility" is usually represented by the modal MAY (to be discussed in due course). Otherwise, the usual expression of possibility in lieu of the B.E. modal COULD would be as follows:

Possibility: B.E. I could be delayed, so don't wait for me
M.E. Maybe I'll be delayed

B.E. She could be strict

M.E. (Maybe) Sometimes she is strict

B.E. That could be Leela

M.E. Maybe that is Leela

For the other two meanings of "permission" and "ability", only the past tense use is possible in M.E. The hypothetical use for both the meanings is represented by the modal CAN in M.E. Thus we have:

Permission (PAST TENSE)

B.E. and M.E. She could (was allowed to) sit for the exam last year although she was underaged.

(HYPOTHETICAL)

B.E. She could go out if she finishes her homework tonight

M.E. She can go out if she finishes her homework tonight.

Ability (PAST TENSE)

B.E. and M.E. She could cook Oriental dishes
which pleased him very much.

(HYPOTHETICAL)

B.E. He could contact you by phone I'm sure

M.E. He can contact you by phone I'm sure

It seems to be that where the hypothetical use of COULD is concerned in B.E., the implied meaning is "ability" with an overtone of "possibility" whereas in M.E., the use of CAN (Instead of COULD for hypothetical use) indicates only the basic meaning of "ability". Edda de Silva also confirms this in her paper on modals in M.E. (1980).

MAY The modal MAY in M.E. is used only to express "possibility", both root and epistemic. Some examples will illustrate:

Possibility (EPISTEMIC)

B.E. and M.E. I may be delayed

That may be Rosnah

(ROOT)

B.E. and M.E. I'm warning you earlier so that
you may take the necessary precautions.

That course is arranged so that
you may attend it on a part-time basis.

It will be noticed that M.E. and B.E. are identical in use here. The epistemic "possibility" examples have the periphrastic equivalent of "It is possible that...." or "perhaps" In M.E., a more informal version of the same modal is "maybe" used as an adverb. Thus "I may be delayed," could also be expressed as "Maybe I'll be delayed" where "maybe" takes on the adverbial function of "perhaps" in adjunct position.

The root "possibility" examples, however, do not have the equivalent of "maybe" used in M.E. The periphrastic equivalent of MAY here is "It is possible for" or "circumstances allow that ..."; thus the modal MAY is used. Thus "WE MAY camp here" or "prevailing conditions allow us to camp here" is another, though less frequently used, form of "We CAN camp here" (It is possible for us to camp here).

The other B.E. meanings of "Permission" and "Hypothetical use i.e. Quasi-Subjunctive use" are not represented by MAY in M.E. "May" does not occur even in eliciting permission - as in interrogatives:

B.E. "May I come in?"

 "May I suggest something?"

This is always represented by "Can" in M.E. as in:

M.E. "Can I come in?"

M.E. "Can I suggest something?"

Thus MAY in M.E. only represents the meaning of "possibility" whilst CAN stands for the meanings of "ability" and "permission"

MIGHT The modal MIGHT is never used in M.E. Where these meanings (expressed by MIGHT in B.E.) are to be expressed, there are equivalents by way of paraphrase or other adverbs (like "maybe", "I think"). For e.g. the "possibility" meaning is expressed by MAYBE. Thus we have sentences like:

Possibility B.E. That might be Rahim

 M.E. Maybe that's Rahim

B.E. We thought you might be interested

M.E. We thought maybe you'll be interested

B.E. You might be lucky this time

M.E. Maybe you'll be lucky this time

As for the meaning of "permission", M.E. uses CAN instead of MIGHT, as seen in sentences like the following:

Permission: B.E. She told me I might use the car

M.E. She told me I can use the car

B.E. If I might interrupt, I'd like to mention
that ...

M.E. If I can interrupt, I'd like to mention
that

B.E. That's what might be considered a real
asset

M.E. That's what can be considered a real asset

WILL The meaning of WILL in B.E. ranges from futurity to volition (in its various degrees) and probability. The extent of overlap between and among these meanings leads to a

multifarious treatment of this modal by the various authors. Haegeman (1983) separates the semantic characterization of WILL into "Future" meanings (sub-divided into "pure" and "coloured" future, with various sub-meanings such as "commands, orders, promises, regrets, bets, immediate future, idiomatic use, willingness, intention, etc), and "All-Time" meanings (with the subdivisions "Pure All-Time Reference" and "Volitional Use" - such as capacity, characteristic of a place, person, species etc.) Coates (1983:167) describes WILL in terms of "willingness, intention, predictability and prediction," "all of which are closely related to concepts of futurity". Palmer (1979:115) says that, "In general, WILL seems to be used where there is a reference to a general envisaged, planned, intended, hoped for, state of affairs, as opposed to a statement that a specific event or events will in fact take place It is in this sense that it indicates a modal rather than a real tense future". He then discusses WILL in terms of futurity, conditionality, habit, power and volition.

This being so, there is a range of meanings of the modal WILL described in use in B.E. In M.E., however, this modal does not have such "fuzzy" interrelationships of meanings because it functions mainly and almost only as a modal indicating futurity. The only other possible semantic

"colouring", (Haegeman, 1983:21) so to speak, is that of "volition". The other major use of WILL in B.E. as indicating probability is not a feature of M.E. There are other ways of expressing such probability in M.E. for example:

Probability B.E. That will be Rahim
 M.E. Must be that's Rahim
 Surely that's Rahim

B.E. He will know the phone number as he's
 been working there before
M.E. Surely he knows the phone number as he's
 been working there before.

Coming back to the meanings of futurity and volition, as discussed in the earlier section on tense and remoteness distinctions, WILL indicates a futurity that is comparatively near in temporal terms (compared to WOULD which is used for futurity that is distant). Thus WILL is used as a tense category rather than a modal/semantic category. When it has a slight semantic "colouring" it would therefore mean "futurity + volition" (intention).

Considering "futurity" on its own, the basic use of

WILL in terms of "pure future" (Haegeman 1983:20) can be seen in examples like the following:

Pure Futurity:

B.E. and M.E. He will be 50 to-day

She will submit her thesis by the end
of to-day

This week end will be Easter weekend.

These same sentences will have the modal WILL changed to WOULD in M.E., if the temporal adverbial or the context indicated a more distant future, hence the differences between the following sentences in M.E.

IMMEDIATE FUTURE: He will be 50 to-day

DISTANT FUTURE: He would be 50 next month

IMMEDIATE FUTURE: She will submit her thesis by the end of
to-day

DISTANT FUTURE: She would submit her thesis next week.

The concept of futurity in the past is also used in M.E., although not very frequently.

Thus we can have:

IMMEDIATE FUTURE IN THE PAST	She was sure he <u>will</u> win the lottery prize I knew she <u>will</u> be coming today
DISTANT FUTURE IN THE PAST	She was sure he <u>would</u> win the lottery prize I knew she <u>would</u> be coming a week later

As for "futurity + volition", the most frequent types of degree of volition used in M.E. are intention and willingness, as exemplified in the following:

Futurity + Volition

She will take care of the children
(She's willing to do so)
I will do it
(I agree and intend to do it)
He will inform her parents
(He intends to inform her parents)

The modal WILL here denotes immediate futurity along with intention or willingness

WOULD WOULD therefore has the same meanings and use as WILL in M.E., except that the futurity that it indicates is distant futurity (as has been mentioned earlier). Along with this, the hypothetical as well as past use of WOULD does occur in M.E. as well, as seen in the following examples:

HYPOTHETICAL USE I'm sure he would be shocked to receive
the letter next week

PAST USE He said that he would tell the neighbour
We knew he would be involved with drugs.

The same holds of WOULD meaning "futurity + volition", although it must be admitted that the hypothetical use very seldom occurs in M.E. the preference being for other more informal periphrastic expressions like:

"Better take an insurance policy" or "Must take
....", for sentences like the following: (in B.E.)

HYPOTHETICAL USE I would take an insurance policy, if
that's the situation (or "if I were you")

I would train my children to behave in
front of elders

PAST USE

She said she would turn over a new leaf

He felt she would not report at all

SHOULD The modal SHOULD occurs in M.E. only with the meanings of "obligation" and "necessity", although not as often as the modal MUST with the same meanings, (in addition to the meaning "compulsion"). Thus as far as the other basic meanings of SHOULD in B.E. as "probability, inference", and the "Quasi Subjunctive" or "Contrafactive" are concerned, M.E. has other means of expressing such modality or meanings by the average speakers.

As for the meanings "obligation" and "necessity", the normal meaning in B.E. is seen in sentences like the following: (also obtained in M.E.)

Obligation

She should inform his parents

(It's her duty to do so)

They should avoid speculation as this would cause more tension for the parents.

There are also other ways of expressing such obligation in M.E. viz.

(for "She should inform his parents")

"It's better if she informs his parents"

or "She better inform his parents"

or "If I were her, I'll inform his parents"

As for necessity, the degree of intensity is slightly more than that of obligation although still not as strong as the necessity expressed by the modal MUST. Some examples are:

Necessity

He should buy a car

(i.e. he needs to do so - it's high time he did so as he's spending too much time and money travelling by public transport).

They should register with the student's department (i.e. it's almost imperative that they do, especially in case of any emergency)

She should take regular exercise

(i.e. it's preferable or sensible if she takes regular exercise as that would keep her weight down)

MUST It is imperative, when discussing SHOULD in M.E. that MUST is also considered, as the same two meanings (obligation and necessity) are also represented by MUST in M.E. (along with the meaning "compulsion"). The meaning "obligation" represented by MUST is certainly of stronger import than that represented by SHOULD. Coates (1983:64) juxtaposes these two modals when she says that "core examples of root MUST express strong "obligation" while core examples of root SHOULD express a weaker sense of "obligation". Thus the comparison can be seen in sentences like:

Obligation

I must buy her a nice gift

(It's imperative that I do so as she's been of invaluable help to me, during my stay in UK).

I should buy her a nice gift

(I feel obliged to do so - (merely obliged)

as she has been helpful to me - perhaps now and then - during my stay in UK)

He must advise his students about application procedures to Universities abroad.

(It's his moral duty to do so, and perhaps the students are solely depending on him for such advice)

He should advise his students about application procedures to Universities abroad.

(He's obliged to do so, in his capacity as student counsellor, perhaps)

In M.E. the preference seems to be for SHOULD to express "obligation" and MUST to express "necessity". Thus we have a more frequent occurrence of MUST in sentences like the following:

Necessity You must brush your teeth daily.

They must register at the Student's Department.

Likewise, the preference also holds for expressing obligation more in terms of the modal SHOULD than by the modal MUST. Hence, we have sentences like:

Obligation I should buy her a nice gift

(Compared to "I must buy her a nice gift")

He should advise his students

(Compared to "He must advise his students")

All in all, therefore, in M.E., although both the modals SHOULD and MUST are used, and with only the meanings

"obligation" and "necessity" (other than the extra meaning of "compulsion" of the modal MUST - to be discussed after this), the preference is for SHOULD to express "obligation" and MUST to express "necessity". It must be admitted however that both these modals with both these meanings can also be replaced by the periphrastic expressions like:

"It's better if", "I'd better" or
"You/I/She have/has to" etc.

Coming on to the "compulsion" meaning of MUST, the M.E. usage of this modal with this meaning is quite common, hence the frequent occurrence of sentences like:

Compulsion You must practise the piano twice daily
 (You are compelled to)
 He must submit the report by the end of this
 month
 (It's compulsory that he does so)

One other meaning represented by the modal MUST in B.E. which is used in M.E. but in a slightly different representation is the meaning of "inference" (logical necessity), as in:

Inference He must be well over forty now
 They must be quite rich (having three cars and
 three houses)

In M.E. the same meaning is represented by the modal, but in an adverbialised form:

Inference (in M.E.) "Must be he's well over forty now"
 "Must be they're quite rich"

Other than these meanings, the modals MUST and SHOULD are not used in M.E. with any of the other meanings that are operant in B.E.

Summing up therefore, the modal verbs in M.E. are fewer and functionally not as diverse as those in B.E. The modal verb system is very much more simplified yet representative of the basic meanings that need to be conveyed. A table will summarise these more representatively (showing only the basic M.E. modals and meanings)

CAN	COULD	MAY	WILL	WOULD	SHOULD	MUST
permission	past tense of these	possibility	immediate futurity	distant futurity	obligation	(obligation)
ability	meanings		(+volition)	(+volition)	(necessity)	necessity compulsion

A look at the modal verbs in B.M. may explain the simplification of the Modal System between B.E. and M.E. The modal verbs in B.M. are:

hendak, mahu, ingin - volition. (want/wish)

enggan, / tidak (hendak, mahu, ingin/ - neg. volition/
reluctance
weak volition

harus, wajib, mesti - compulsion (must, have to).

boleh, dapat - ability/permission (can/able)

mungkin - possibility/probability (may)

perlu - obligation/necessity { ^{need}
(have to)
should }

Some examples in sentences would further enlighten the meanings of the above modals.

Volition (hendak, mahu, ingin)/want-wish

Dia { hendak
 mahu
 ingin } pergi ke rumah kawannya

He wants to go to house friend his

He wants to go to his friend's house

Compulsion (harus, wajib, mesti)/must - have to

Mereka { harus
 mesti
 wajib } mendaftarkan dengan Pejabat Immegresen

They must/have to register themselves with the
Immigration Office (must - as in logical necessity
(inference). He must be over 40 years now)

Mereka harus membeli kereta besar itu

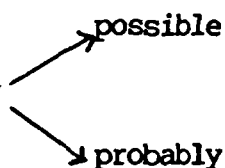
They must buy that big car

Ability/Permission (dapat, boleh) - can - permit

↓ ↘
(only ability) (both ability ± permission)

Saya dapat (was/is able to)
 boleh melihat kapal itu
I can see that ship
Dia boleh bermain piano
(She can play piano)
Ali boleh balek sekarang } (permission)
Ali can return now

Possibility/Probability (mungkin) may



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graph LR; A["<u>Possibility/Probability</u> (mungkin) may"] --> B["possible"]; A --> C["probably"];
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Dia mungkin datang hari ini kerana keretanya telah diperbaiki

(She may come today as her car's been repaired)

(It's(possible) for her to)

Saya mungkin berdaftar di Universiti itu kerana keputusan saya layak untuk memohon masuk.

(I may (it's possible for me to) register at the University as my results qualify me to apply for entry).

(Asmah, 1980:98)

Dia tidak mungkin tiba malam ini, kerana banjir besar di jalan

(He will not/wont't) arrive tonight, due to the heavy floods on the roads.)

(It's not possible for him to)....

Perkahwinan itu tidak mungkin berlangsung, kerana masing-masing berpegang teguh kepada agamanya.

(That marriage will/cannot take place) as each of them is fastidiously holding on to their religion

It's not possible for that marriage to take place

Probability

Rahimah mungkin bertolak pada minggu ini

(Rahimah may (probably) leave) this week

Dia mungkin menginap di rumah saya pada cuti ini

He/She may stay/put up at my house during this/ese vacation/
holidays

(Asmah, 1980:98)

Saya mungkin ikut serta dalam pertunjukan itu

(I may also join/participate in show that)

Bapanya mungkin tiba petang ini

(His father may arrive this evening)

(need) (always negative - "no need")
(Obligation)/Necessity (perlu)/(should)

(Asmah, 1980:99)

Saya tidak perlu hadir di mesyuarat itu

I don't need attend that meeting
(needn't) be present

Dia perlu mengisi borang itu dahulu

He { needs to } fill form that first
 { should }

Mereka perlu mendapat suntikan taun (cholera) sebelum bertolak ke luar negeri

They should/need to have cholera vaccination before departing for abroad
(going)

Thus it will be seen that the modal verbs are monosemantic - i.e. one modal verb (or any of its synonymous verbs) has only one meaning - with "will" indicating tense (futurity) \pm intention. In other words one meaning is not represented by many modal verbs unlike B.E. where for e.g. the meaning "permission" can be represented by "CAN" and "MAY". Likewise the other way around, in B.E. we also have one modal verb that has quite a number of possible meanings. e.g. WILL - starts from futurity and ends with six or seven possible meanings.

This situation of unambiguous modal verbs in B.M. seems to be reflected in the M.E. simplified system as well.

The sentences containing the modals in the recheck questionnaire were the following (with their acceptance percentages for the teachers and clerks respectively)

- (i) This year all MCE students would take the oral examinations in June (63%/10%)
- (ii) Rahman would fly down to KL next week (56%/10%)
- (iii) Would you lend us your torch for a while? (90%/40%)
- (iv) If you come home late, you would be locked out (71%/20%)
- (v) You could do whatever you like, it doesn't really matter (77%/20%)
- (vi) She is a linguist who could speak in at least four languages (62%/10%)
- (vii) Although he could go there by car, Leong is planning to take a flight down (86%/50%)
- (viii) Hamzah is sending the photographs early so that Rosly could order the copies immediately (79%/30%)

The scores put together and averaged, gave an overall degree of acceptance of 86% by the teachers and 24% by the clerks. Putting the scores of the individual sentences together, we have:

		<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentence	(i)	63%	10%
	(ii)	56%	10%
	(iii)	90%	40%
	(iv)	71%	20%
	(v)	77%	20%
	(vi)	62%	10%
	(vii)	86%	50%
	(viii)	79%	30%

TABLE 19: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF MODALS IN M.E.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, there is a marked difference in the acceptance scores between the teachers and the clerks. Where the more grammar - sensitive teachers are more permissive of the simplification of such modals, the clerks seem to be more reluctant towards the use of these modals. It must be admitted that the entire range of modals used in M.E. are not represented in the recheck corpus (i.e. MAY, SHOULD and MUST are not included). There is still room for further research, therefore, where these three modals are concerned, although it would not be wrong to assume that they would also indicate a similar trend of acceptance by the teachers as compared to the clerks.

STATIVITY AND PROGRESSIVITY IN M.E.

One approach to the use of verbs in B.E. is the stative/dynamic dichotomy, where like other similar dichotomies, viz. transitive/intransitive, lexical/auxiliary, active/passive, there runs the element of definiteness and yet fuzziness as to the defining of any given verb in terms of that dichotomy. Where on the one hand, we can say that a certain verb is definitely stative or dynamic, on the other, there are also certain verbs that can be used both statively and dynamically. It is this discrepancy that seems to lead to the M.E. use of stative verbs, especially in the easy co-occurrence of such stative verbs with the progressive.

REVIEW OF VARIOUS COMMENTS REGARDING THE STATIVE/^{DYNAMIC}DICHOTOMY:
(WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROGRESSIVE)

A brief look at some of the treatments of such verbs and the progressive in B.E. may throw some light on the M.E. tendency for such aspectual variation. Palmer (1965:97) states that "these verbs differ from the other verbs of English in that they usually, even in the present tense, occur with the non-progressive. The non-progressive is, in fact, the norm, and progressive forms are used only where there is specific

reference to duration or one of the special features indicated by the progressive", going on further to state that "there are some fairly obvious reasons why these verbs are used with the non-progressive but the reasons apply to them as a class and are not valid on each occasion of use". Comrie (1976:36) on the other hand says that, "there are many verbs that are treated sometimes as stative, sometimes as non-stative depending on the particular meaning they have in the given sentence ... The general rule seems to be that lexically stative verbs can be used non-statively and appear in the progressive while lexically non-stative verbs do not lose their ability to be in the progressive by being used statively". Huddleston (1984:157) also wonders why we can't say "That car is belonging to me at the moment, though I'm selling it to John tomorrow" if we can say "Kim is living in Berlin" - where live/(living) is an inherently stative verb represented here as a process and conceived of as progressing towards a relatively imminent change (thus temporary in duration). He continues saying that "certain verbs are highly resistant to aspectual variation, occurring predominantly or wholly in the non-progressive, among the clearest of which are those denoting a variety of static relations like "belong, contain, possess, entail". He sums it all by saying that "there is a great deal more that can be said on this difficult issue". "This difficult issue" is explained

by Quirk et. al (1985:202) as that of a "transfer or a reclassification of the verb as dynamic" from "one having a stative meaning" to that "having a meaning of process or agentivity". They explain that such verbs like "be, have and know, which refer to states and which indicate an unbroken state" have such characteristics like:

- (i) Occurring less readily with frequency adverbials
e.g. ?"The chair has beautiful carved legs quite frequently." (RQ)
- (ii) not occurring with the imperative: e.g. *know
how to swim". (RQ)
- (iii) having a different meaning when occurring with
the progressive
or totally not occurring with the progressive'
e.g. *"We are owning a house in the country" (RQ)
"She is seeing him today"

Quirk et. al. go on by stating that "on this basis we draw a broad distinction between dynamic and stative meanings of verbs. It should be noted, though, that we talk of dynamic and stative meanings rather than dynamic and stative verbs. This is because one verb may shift, in meaning, from one category to another," admitting that "the dynamic/stative distinction is not clear-cut however". As for the stative verbs with the

progressive, they explain that "stative verb meanings are inimical to the idea that some phenomenon is in progress. States are 'like-parted' in that every segment of a state has the same character as any other segment. Where the progressive does occur, it is felt to imply temporariness rather than permanence".

STATIVE VERBS IN THE PROGRESSIVE (WITH STATIVE MEANINGS)

Thus in B.E., as far as the progressive and stative verbs go, co-occurrence is not common except when:

(i) The duration of the verb is being emphasised

e.g. He's hoping all the time that she'll win

I'm actually hearing my daughter's voice

How much water was that can containing when you last used it?

She's seeing stars

(ii) Habitual activity over a limited period is emphasised

e.g. He's forgetting his priorities nowadays

She's feeling the pain these days

I'm thinking now that I must send her a present

(iii) Sporadic repetition is being shown (normally with adverbials)

e.g. I'm continually forgetting names (FRP)

She's always feeling ill (FRP)

You're forever imagining you'll win a prize

These are, however, the "private verbs" (FRP-Quirk) (1965/1985), those associated with cognition and perception, that can have the element of duration in terms of habit and limitation. As for the relational verbs (of "being and having"), which normally connote permanent or semi-permanent states, emphasis is not on duration or habit. As such when they occur in the progressive, it is to:

- (i) emphasise limited duration - but not of a habitual activity

e.g. He's looking better since his operation
(FRP)

I'm feeling all right now

We're living in Bonn

- (ii) Indicate increasing or decreasing activity (i.e. of that state) (normally with adverbials)

e.g. He's looking more and more like his father

It's mattering less and less now

The bucket's containing more and more
water every day

In addition to these examples, there are some stative verbs denoting states of bodily sensation - like 'ache, itch, hurt', for which the "progressive and the non-progressive are more or less interchangeable when referring to a temporary state" (Quirk 1985:203). Hence instances like,

e.g. "My foot hurts (RQ)

is hurting

"My back aches" (RQ)

is aching"

with no difference in meaning.

OVER GENERALISATION OF EXISTING SYSTEM IN B.E. TO M.E.

In M.E. such uses of the stative verbs (in the progressive) are present and one could say therefore that the use of the progressive here is over-generalised and stretched on to the normal "stative" use of such verbs as well. In other words, if one can say "The soup's tasting better these days", the analogy is extended to being able to say, "The soup's tasting good" or "I'm tasting mint in the soup" (for "The soup tastes good" and "I can taste mint in the soup" respectively). Likewise other examples - if one can say, "You're for ever imagining you'll win a prize", it is extended to "I'm imagining he'll come home today" (for "I imagine he'll come home today").

DYNAMIC USE OF CERTAIN STATIVE VERBS-INFREQUENT USE IN M.E.

There is one dynamic progressive use of the stative verbs, however, which does not occur in M.E. as much as the others. This is where the meaning is slightly different from the usual meaning. Palmer (1965:100) suggests homonymy between

these verbs (in the progressive) and the normal stative use of these verbs, since the difference is not only one in terms of the "progressive/non-progressive dichotomy, but also one of a difference in meaning". Some examples are: (in juxtaposition with the stative meanings)

STATIVE (NON-PROGRESSIVE) She feels tired/The cloth feels rough

DYNAMIC (PROG) I'm feeling the cloth

STATIVE (NON-PROG) I hear thunder

DYNAMIC (PROG) The judge is hearing the case today

STATIVE (NON-PROG) I see my brother walking down the road

DYNAMIC (PROG) I'm seeing the doctor this afternoon

The M.E. use of the verbs in these contexts is not as frequent as in B.E. although not altogether absent. In other words, instead of the dynamic progressive forms of these stative verbs, (with the difference in meaning), similar inherently dynamic verbs are preferred, to convey the identical meanings:

e.g. The judge is presiding over the case today
(hearing)

I'm visiting the doctor this afternoon
(seeing)

NORMAL STATIVE MEANINGS WITH DYNAMIC USE

However, in the normal meanings of the stative verbs where there is the possibility of the progressive occurring

with such verbs (thus making them dynamic) the "private" verbs occur quite happily both in B.E. and M.E. Thus we have sentences like:

STATIVE The cloth feels rough

TO

DYNAMIC USE I am feeling the cloth (to see if it is rough)

STATIVE The roses smell lovely/I smell roses in this room

TO

DYNAMIC USE I am smelling the roses (to see what lovely fragrance they have)

STATIVE The soup tastes good/I (can) taste mint in the
TO soup

DYNAMIC USE I am tasting the soup (to see if it has enough salt etc.)

STATIVE I imagine the results will be out today

TO

DYNAMIC USE I am imagining that I am now back in Malaysia
(consciously making an effort to do so).

STATIVE She hopes he'll come today

TO

DYNAMIC USE She is hoping to do her Ph.D some day
 (deliberating on the supposition that she can do
 it some day)

It is from here that the analogy is extended, in M.E., to other similar private verbs as well as to the verbs of being and having (relational verbs), so that the stative verbs are used in the progressive but still with the same inherent stative meaning. Thus in M.E. we get:

M.E. "I'm tasting mint in the soup"

B.E. "I (can) taste mint in the soup"

M.E. "I'm smelling brandy in the punch"

B.E. "I (can) smell brandy in the punch"

M.E. "They are owning three houses in Pantai"

B.E. "They own three houses in Pantai"

M.E. "He is having two Jaguars"

B.E. "He has two Jaguars"

M.E. "She is knowing that I came late yesterday

B.E. "She knows that I came late yesterday

M.E. "They are thinking they are in the wrong

B.E. "They think they are in the wrong

M.E. "That box is containing all my jewellery"

B.E. "That box contains all my jewellery"

THE STATIVE/DYNAMIC DICHOTOMY IN B.M.

One could also postulate that perhaps the M.E. tendency to use such verbs statively in the progressive could be due to some transfer from Bahasa Malaysia. But before going into the stative/dynamic dichotomy itself, it is imperative that the B.M. corollary of the "Be + Ving" construction is explained. The progressive manifestation in the B.E. i.e. the (Be + Ving) form, has its corollary in the aspectual marker "sedang" in B.M. as in:

B.E. She is dancing
[Be + (V) ing]

B.M. (Dia ϕ tari sedang)
Dia sedang menari ('men' being prefix showing,
in this case, active intransitive voice)

B.E. They are sleeping
[Be + (V) ing]

B.M. (Mereka ϕ tidur sedang)
Mereka sedang tidur

It will be noted here that in B.M. the verb "to be" has no overt manifestation - further examples of which are:

B.E. He is a teacher

B.M. Dia ϕ seorang guru
('a' classifier)

B.E. They are tired

B.M. Mereka ϕ letih

B.E. The room is big

B.M. (Itu (that) ϕ bilik besar)
Bilik itu besar

B.E. He is critically ill

B.M. (Dia ϕ tenat sakit)
Dia sakit tenat

B.E. I am building a house

B.M. (Saya ϕ bina sedang sebuah rumah)
Saya sedang membina sebuah rumah

B.E. Mother is sewing
B.M. (Emak ϕ jahit sedang)
Emak sedang menjahit

However, where in B.E. the [Be + Ving] form has various meanings [i.e. the syntactic manifestation "Be + Ving" has meanings not always identical] as in examples like:

B.E. { He is performing tonight at seven.
(Futurity) { They are leaving tomorrow.

Temporary, { He is living in London.
present { They are staying in the class.
state

Present, { She is watching T.V.
progressive { I am eating, please call back later.
action

Habitual { They are always quarrelling.
(Iterative) { He is forever giving her gifts.
progressive

the B.M. progressive manifestation i.e. "sedang" refers only either to on-going action or present state. Thus we can have sentences like:

B.E. He is living in London
B.M. (Dia ϕ tinggal sedang di London)
Dia sedang tinggal di London

B.E. They are staying in the class

B.M. (Mereka ϕ tunggu sedang di bilik darjah)

Mereka sedang menunggu di bilik darjah

B.E. She is watching t.v.

B.M. (Dia ϕ menonton sedang t.v.)

Dia sedang menonton t.v.

whilst for the other B.E. meanings of "futurity" and "habitual progressive" the B.M. equivalents are "akan" (will-futurity) and "selalu" (always) + ϕ , respectively, seen in the following:

B.E. He is performing tonight at seven.

B.M. Dia ϕ akan berlakun malam ini pada pukul tujuh.

B.E. They are leaving tomorrow.

B.M. Mereka ϕ akan bertolak esok.

B.E. They are always quarrelling.

B.M. Mereka ϕ selalu bergaduh.

B.E. He is forever giving her gifts.

B.M. Dia ϕ selalu memberi dia hadiah.

A look at the stative/dynamic dichotomy in B.M. could be

helpful to decide if there is any influence at all, of B.M. on M.E. Asmah (1980:81) explains that "for dynamic verbs, the subject is the initiator, whilst for stative verbs, the subject is not the initiator" ("bagi kata kerja perbuatan, subjeknya adalah juga pelaku, sedangkan bagi kata kerja keadaan, subjeknya bukan pelaku"). Mashudi Kader (1981:52) also states that "In Malay, there are action-verbs like "pukul" (to hit), "pergi" (to go) and non-action verbs like "mempunyai" (to own) and "menyerupai" (to resemble) Furthermore, action verbs can appear in the imperative construction while non-action verbs cannot".

A look at some examples in B.M. would enlighten (put in terms of co-occurrence with the progressive):

STATIVE (NON-PROG)	Saya (<u>ter</u>)dengar lagu-lagu S. Aini hear songs
	I (can) hear S. Aini's songs
DYNAMIC (PROG)	Saya (sedang) <u>mendengar</u> lagu-lagu S. Aini
	I ing hear/listen songs S. Aini
	I <u>am listening</u> to S. Aini's songs
STATIVE (NON-PROG)	Dia (<u>ter</u>)lihat/ <u>nampak</u> anaknya di dalam kereta itu
	He/She sees child his/hers in car that
	He/She (can) see his/her child in that car

DYNAMIC (PROG)	Dia (sedang) <u>melihat</u> televisyen He/she ing watch television He/she <u>is watching</u> television
STATIVE (NON-PROG)	Saya <u>terasa</u> asam di dalam kuah kari ini I taste tamarind in curry this I (can) taste tamarind in this curry
DYNAMIC (PROG)	Saya (sedang) <u>merasai</u> curry ini I ing taste curry this I <u>am tasting</u> this curry

It will be noticed here that when the verb is used with the progressive (used dynamically) the prefix "men" is used, showing intentionality on the part of the subject, whilst where the verb occurs with the non-progressive (statively), the prefix "ter" is used showing unintentional action.

With the verbs of inert cognition too, the progressive does not occur in the stative use of such verbs. Hence when the progressive does occur, the verb is used dynamically:

Inert Cognition Verbs

STATIVE (NON-PROG)	Saya <u>fikir</u> dia marah terhadap saya I <u>think</u> she annoyed/ with me angry I <u>think</u> she is annoyed/ with me angry
-----------------------	--

DYNAMIC (PROG)	Saya (sedang) <u>memikirkan</u> tentang rancangan itu I <u>ing think</u> about plan that I <u>am thinking</u> about that plan
STATIVE (NON-PROG)	Dia <u>harap</u> kami akan tiba cepat He/she hopes we will arrive early He/she <u>hopes</u> we will arrive early
DYNAMIC (PROG)	Dia (sedang) <u>mengharapkan</u> bapanya akan beransur pulih He/she <u>ing hope</u> father his/hers will recover He/she <u>is hoping</u> his/her father will recover

In these instances, the difference between the stative and dynamic uses of the verb is shown by the presence and absence of the prefix "men", where "men" shows intentionality on the part of the subject, thus producing dynamic action, whilst the verb on its own, without affixation shows a state. Furthermore, whereas the stative use of the verb does not co-occur with "sedang", the dynamic use allows the optional use of "sedang".

As for the relational verbs, like the verbs of bodily sensation (in B.E.), in B.M. too, "The progressive and the non-progressive are more or less interchangeable when referring to a temporary state" - hence the progressive can occur with these verbs optionally. Thus we have:

Relational Verbs

Dia (sedang) mempunyai tiga buah rumah
He/she ing possess three cl. houses
He/she is possessing/possesses three houses

Saya (sedang) memiliki dua buah kereta
I ing own two cl. car
I am owning/own two cars

Peti itu (sedang) mengandung alat-alat muzik
Box that ing contain instrument music
That box is containing/contains musical instruments

Thus where some of the stative verbs in B.M. take the progressive with no change in meaning (i.e. still maintaining the stative meaning - as in the Relational Verbs), some have a change in meaning when occurring with the progressive. (i.e. they become dynamic verbs) - as in the Inert Perception and Inert Cognition Verbs.

IRREGULAR PHENOMENON IN BOTH B.E. AND B.M. - EXTENDED TO M.E.

It will be realised therefore that both in B.M. and B.E., the effect of co-occurrence of the progressive with the stative verbs seems to be similar i.e. whilst with some of the

stative verbs, the progressive would imply the dynamic use of such verbs, with a select few, the stative meaning still holds.

In other words, in both B.M. and B.E., among the stative verbs, there is one sub-group which can optionally take the progressive with no change in meaning - viz. the Relational Verbs in B.M. and the verbs of Bodily Sensation in B.E. It could well be therefore that such discrepancy (both in B.M. and B.E.) is an influencing factor for overgeneralisation in M.E. so that we have, in M.E. the ease and frequency with which such forms are used, as in "She is having two cars" or "They are thinking that they are in the right".

Thus apart from the fact that in B.E. itself there is a possible influencing factor for analogy, the presence of a similar phenomenon in B.M. too, adds weight to the M.E. tendency of using stative verbs frequently in the progressive whilst still retaining their stative meanings.

As for the recheck questionnaire, the four sentences that were used were:

- (i) She is feeling sleepy (97%/100%)
- (ii) The Rahims are owning two houses in Pantai
(29%/20%)

- (iii) Zainab is having a cold (84%/80%)
- (iv) I am hearing strange noises outside, wonder what they are (70%/30%)

Putting the scores together, we have:

		<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Clerks</u>
Sentence	(i)	97%	100%
	(ii)	29%	20%
	(iii)	84%	80%
	(iv)	70%	30%

TABLE 20: DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE OF STATIVE/PROGRESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

The overall acceptance scores were 70% for the teachers and 57% for the clerks.

The relational verb "are owning" seems to strike a very low acceptance note by both teachers and clerks. However, the fact that at least even 29%/20% of them respectively, accepted the structure "Be + Ving" for the stative relational verb "own" is indicative enough that this is a feature of indigenization in M.E. Sentences (i) and (iv) are

similar to examples like "He is seeing the point now" (i.e. after all the explanation given, he understands the point), for B.E. "He sees the point now". Another such example is "I am wondering why they left so early" for B.E. "I wonder why they left so early". In all these examples, the verbs viz. feeling, hearing, seeing, wondering - are either verbs of inert perception or cognition.

The relational verbs like "having, owning, and containing" too are accepted generally highly, although the odd example of sentence (ii) shows a comparatively lower acceptance rate in the recheck corpus. In contrast to a 29%/20% rating for sentence (ii), there is a 84%/80% rating for sentence (iii).

It seems difficult therefore to predict which of these types of stative verbs (viz. either the relational verbs, inert perception or inert cognition verbs) occur more regularly in the "Be + Ving" construction, since the trend shown in these sentences is not consistent. This could be an area of further investigation.

Another interesting point of note is that where in the other VP features of indigenization (viz. remoteness distinctions, modals), the clerks generally showed a lower

degree of acceptance, they seem to show greater acceptance towards the stative/progressive co-occurrence. It would be useful to countercheck or reconfirm this phenomenon with more examples to see if this is then a more indigenized feature in M.E. (than some of the other VP ones, where the clerks showed less acceptability).

CHAPTER IV - CLAUSE STRUCTURE

- I - INTERROGATIVE CLAUSAL VARIATION
(SUBJECT INVERSION/TAGS)
- II - SUBJECT INVERSION IN DECLARATIVES
- III - COPULA ELLIPSIS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF
VARIATION

INTERROGATIVE CLAUSAL VARIATION

The characteristic feature in M.E. interrogative clauses that is different from those in B.E. lies in word-order. Where in B.E. there is subject-operator inversion for all operators (whether non-auxiliary, auxiliary or modal), in all direct interrogatives; in M.E. such inversion occurs only for the non-auxiliary "be" in WH interrogatives, both direct and indirect.

As for the Yes - No interrogatives themselves, we shall see that the M.E. equivalent of such interrogatives like "Are you ready?" is similar in form to B.E. tag questions - "polar interrogatives" (Hudson, 1975:1) whilst another fossilized form of a tag in M.E. is the tag "isn't it?" (and "is it?").

WH - INTERROGATIVES

Before going into detail, here are some examples

DIRECT INT.

B.E.

M.E.

Non-Aux: Be

Where is she?

Where is she?

How are you?

How are you?

<u>Have</u>	What <u>have</u> <u>we</u> ?	What <u>we</u> <u>have</u> ?
	What don't <u>we</u> <u>have</u> ?	What <u>we</u> don't <u>have</u> ?

<u>Primary</u> <u>Aux: Be</u>	When <u>is</u> <u>he</u> coming?	When <u>he</u> <u>is</u> coming?
	Why <u>aren't</u> <u>they</u> eating?	Why <u>they</u> <u>aren't</u> eating?

<u>Have</u>	What <u>have</u> <u>they</u> done?	What <u>they</u> <u>have</u> done?
	Where <u>hasn't</u> <u>she</u> been?	Where <u>she</u> <u>hasn't</u> been?
	How <u>had</u> <u>it</u> been taken?	How <u>it</u> <u>had</u> been taken?
	When <u>was</u> <u>it</u> stolen?	When <u>it</u> <u>was</u> stolen?

<u>Modal</u> <u>Auxiliary</u>	Why <u>will</u> <u>she</u> complain?	Why <u>she</u> <u>will</u> complain?
	When <u>can</u> <u>he</u> come?	When <u>he</u> <u>can</u> come?
	Why <u>shouldn't</u> <u>they</u> protest?	Why <u>they</u> <u>shouldn't</u> protest?
	What <u>won't</u> <u>you</u> do?	What <u>you</u> <u>won't</u> do?

INDIRECT INT

<u>Non-Aux: Be</u>	I wonder who <u>that</u> <u>is</u> ?	I wonder who <u>is</u> <u>that</u> ?
	Can you guess where <u>they</u> <u>are</u> ?	You can guess where <u>are</u> <u>they</u> (or not)?

<u>Have</u>	Do you know what <u>we</u> <u>have</u> ?	You know what <u>we</u> <u>have</u> (or not)?
<u>Primary</u> <u>Aux: Be</u>	I wonder what <u>he</u> <u>is</u> doing	I wonder what <u>he</u> <u>is</u> doing
	I wonder why <u>she</u> <u>hadn't</u> come	I wonder why <u>she</u> <u>hadn't</u> come
<u>Have</u>	Can you guess what <u>he</u> <u>had</u> done?	You can guess what <u>he</u> <u>had</u> done (or not)?
	Do you know why <u>they</u> <u>hadn't</u> written?	You know why <u>they</u> <u>hadn't</u> written (or not)?
<u>Modal</u> <u>Auxiliary</u>	Do you know when <u>she</u> <u>will</u> come?	You know when <u>she</u> <u>will</u> come (or not)?
	I wonder why <u>he</u> <u>can't</u> stay?	I wonder why <u>he</u> <u>can't</u> stay?

NON-AUXILIARY "BE":

Beginning with the non-auxiliary "be" which allows subject-auxiliary inversion in M.E., it seems imperative that B.M. is considered here. It will be seen (in the later section on copula ellipsis in declaratives) - that the verb "be" (non-aux. and aux.) is not overtly manifested in B.M.

e.g. She is fat

Dia gemuk

They are waiting

Mereka sedang menunggu

I am a student

Saya seorang siswazah

Likewise in interrogatives too (in B.M.) there is no such verb manifestation:

e.g. Is she fat?

Dia gemukkah?
(int. particle)

Are they waiting?

Mereka sedang menunggukah?

Are you a student?

Engkau seorang siswazakah?

This absence of an overt "be" in B.M. seems to be over-compensated for in M.E. so that the non-auxiliary "be" in the WH - interrogative in M.E. is the only verb treated differently from the other verbs (including the auxiliary "be"), in terms of word-order hence VS is possible - i.e. "Where is he?" - although here again this is only when the wh -

element is in initial position. It will be seen (explained later) that in M.E., the wh - element is also possible in sentence final position "He is where?" for all verbs. Hence in such a case, the word-order for the non-auxiliary "be" in M.E. is (exceptionally) SV whilst "Is he where?" is ungrammatical.

We shall see that where the auxiliary "be" is concerned, such special status is not given in M.E. since there is another lexical verb attached to it, whereas here (for the non-auxiliary "be") the B.E. rules hold in M.E. at least when WH - is initially placed.

OTHER VERBS

As for the auxiliary and modal verbs, there is no subject-auxiliary inversion in M.E. Taking the auxiliary "be" for a start, we have:

B.E. What are they doing?

M.E. (a) What they are doing?

(b) What they doing?

B.E. How are they faring?

M.E. (a) How they are faring?

(b) How they faring?

B.E. Why aren't you studying?

M.E. (a) Why you are not studying?
aren't

(b) Why you not studying?

B.E. Which book aren't you taking?

M.E. (a) Which book you are not taking?
aren't

(b) Which book you not taking?

The (a) examples above indicate mesolectal M.E. whilst the (b) examples are predominant in basilectal M.E. although it must be conceded that there are no strict demarcations to each occurrence.

MESOLECTAL VARIATION:

(WORD-ORDER IN B.M. WH - INTERROGATIVES)

The (a) examples can perhaps be explained by the fact that the identical situation exists in B.M. Some examples will elucidate.

B.E. Where is he going?

B.M. Ke mana(kah) dia sedang pergi?
(To where he ing go?)

M.E. Where he is going?

In B.M. the wh - element in a wh - interrogative is placed initially in a sentence of identical word - order as that of a declarative. In addition, the wh - element can optionally take the interrogative suffix "kah" in sentence - initial position, "In sentence - initial position "kah" can optionally occur after a wh - word" (Mashudi Kader, 1981:190). Hence we have, from the declarative:

Dia sedang pergi

He ing go

He going

the interrogative

Ke mana(kah) dia sedang pergi?

To where (int suffix) he going?

Where he is going?

Likewise other examples:

Bila(kah) dia datang?

When he come?

As has already been pointed out, the wh - element can also occur in sentence - final position, in which case "the suffix "kah" cannot follow a wh - word, if the word, is not modifying

a noun-phrase". (Kader, 1981:191). For example, from:

Ke mana (kah) dia sedang pergi?
(To where he ing go?)

Where he going?

we get: Dia sedang pergi ke mana?
(He ing go to where?)

He going where?

"Kah" may follow a wh - word if there is a variable such as a time adverbial following it or if the wh - word is modifying a noun-phrase". For eg. (Kader's egs)

B.M. Amin makan di mana(kah) tadi?
Amin eat at where (int. suffix) just now?

B.E. Where did Amin eat just now?

B.M. Amin makan di restoran mana(kah)?
Amin eat at restaurant where (int. suffix)

B.E. Which restaurant did Amin eat at?

WH ELEMENT IN M.E.: (SENTENCE - FINAL POSITION)

Returning to the wh - element in M.E. itself, it must be admitted that as in B.M. where the wh - element can occur in sentence - final position as well, in M.E. too, the wh - element can occur in sentence - final position (with or without

an adverbial or noun) - hence the occurrence of such examples as:

M.E. He is where?
 He has what?
 He is going where?
 They had eaten when?
 She will come how?

It will be noticed that even the non-auxiliary "be" can take sentence - final wh - placing, giving the S V order instead (whilst in sentence - initial wh - placing, the order is V S—as stated earlier).

In mesolectal M.E., except for the non-auxiliary "be" then (with sentence-initial wh - placing) the order of S V remains the same in the wh - interrogative as that of the declarative — whether the wh - element is in sentence - initial or sentence - final position giving us examples like:

M.E. Where he is going?/He is going where?
 When she is coming?/She is coming when?
 What they should do?/They should do what?
 Where she can find him?/She can find him
 where?

BASILECTAL VARIATION

As for the (b) examples, ("Where he going?") it will be consequent that since in basilectal M.E. the verb "be" is ellipted in declaratives due to the influence of the substrate languages (see section on Declaratives and Copula Ellipsis), the same holds in wh - interrogatives as well. This is further reinforced by similar situations in both B.M. and Tamil wh - interrogatives. Hence e.g.

B.M. Apa(kah) dia sedang buat?
 What (int. suffix) he ing do?

B.E. What is he doing?

M.E.(b) What he doing?

B.M. Ke mana(kah) mereka sedang pergi?
 To where (int. suffix) they ing go?

B.E. Where are they going?

M.E.(b) Where they going?

Tamil	/ i <u>ə</u>	enn^ ?/
	(ithu	enna?)
	This	what?
B.E.	What	is this?
M.E.(b)	What	this?

Tamil	/un	a: tʃ i ri ja: r	ja:r?/
	(un	a: chiri ya:r	ya:r?)
	your	teacher	who?

B.E. Who is your teacher?

M.E. (b) Who your teacher?

Tamil	/ʌvəl	enge	p ɔ: kira: l?/
	(avel	enge	pokira: l?)
	She	where	going?

B.E. Where is she going?

M.E. (b) Where she going?

Tamil	/ʌvər kəl	enna	vileija: d̪ura: rkəl?/
	(avərkel	enna	vileiyadura:rkəl?)
	They	what	play ing?

B.E. What are they playing?

M.E. (b) What they playing?

OPERATOR "DO"

The operator "do" which appears in B.E. interrogatives is not used in M.E. wh - interrogatives since there is

no inversion. Hence we have examples like:

B.E. What did they say?

M.E. (a) What they said?

(b) What they say?

B.E. Where did he go?

M.E. (a) Where he went?

(b) Where he go?

B.E. Why does he cry?

M.E. (a) Why he cries?

(b) Why he cry?

INDIRECT INTERROG.

In indirect wh - interrogatives, as stated earlier, only the M.E. non-auxiliary "be" undergoes inversion, whilst all the other verbs do not. For example:

B.E. I wonder who that is?

M.E. I wonder who is that?

B.E. Do you know why he is here?

M.E. Do you know why is he here?

B.E. Can you guess how she is?

M.E. Can you guess how is she?

B.E. Rahim doesn't know who she is

M.E. Rahim doesn't know who is she

B.E. They remember where the mosque is

M.E. They remember where is the mosque

B.E. How will he know where I am?

M.E. How he will know where am I?

B.E. Why can't she tell who that is?

M.E. Why she can't tell who is that?

As for the other verbs, the M.E. indirect wh - interrogative is identical to the direct interrogative, whereas the B.E. indirect wh - interrogative is different from its direct one, in terms of subject auxiliary inversion, seen in:

Direct wh - int.

Indirect wh - int.

B.E. What is he doing? Do you know what he is doing?

M.E. What he is doing? Do you know what he is doing?

B.E. What has he done? I wonder what he has done?

M.E. What he has done? I wonder what he has done?

B.E. When will she come? Do you know when she will come?

M.E. When she will come? Do you know when she will come?

Hence where in B.E., the direct and indirect wh - interrogatives have different word - orders, the M.E. direct and indirect wh - interrogatives have identical word - orders, other than for the non-auxiliary "be".

YES - NO INTERROGATIVES

As for the Yes - No Interrogatives, the same word - order of S V as in M.E. wh - interrogatives prevails, whilst an appended tag (eg. "or not" or "yes or not") is used, in lieu of the subject-operator inversion to mark it as a Yes - No Interrogative. In basilectal M.E., and here again the notion of fuzzy edges should be borne in mind, there is an enclitic "ah?" with falling intonation, at sentence - final position. For e.g: [(a) - being mesolectal examples whilst (b) are basilectal examples.]

B.E. Was Patrick late?

M.E.(a) Patrick was late or not?

(b) Patrick(was) late, ah?

B.E. Has she a cold? (Does she have a cold?)

M.E.(a) She has a cold or not?

(b) She has a cold, ah?

B.E. Is she coming?

M.E.(a) She is coming or not?

(b) She coming, ah?

B.E. Had she eaten?

M.E.(a) She had eaten or not?

(b) She eat ah?

B.E. Did anyone call last night?

M.E.(a) Anyone called last night or not?

(b) Anyone call(ed) last night, ah?

NEGATIVE YES - NO INTERROGATIVES

As for the negative yes - no interrogatives, since the orientation of the declarative is in the negative, the M.E. tag (along with the element of no subject - auxiliary inversion) now consists of both the particles "yes" and "not" in the form "yes or not?", as in "You don't believe me, yes or not?" (I am assuming that you don't believe me, confirm my declaration or refute it), for B.E. "Don't you believe me?" Thus the "yes" clitic confirms the negative proposition in the declarative, i.e. "Yes, I do not believe you" whilst the clitic "not" refutes the negative proposition in the declarative i.e. "I do not, not believe you = I believe you".

"YES OR NOT" TAGS

This brings us to the interrogative tags in M.E. The tag "Yes or Not" is one of the recurrent tags in M.E., not just

appended to a negative declarative but also to positive declaratives. Hence one could say that there are actually two variants as far as yes - no interrogatives in M.E. go, as in:

B.E. Can he swim? (or not)

M.E. (i) He can swim or not? (Can he or can't he swim? - I'm not assuming anything)

(ii) He can swim, yes or not? (I'm assuming he can swim, but want you to either confirm it with a "yes" or refute it with a "not").

B.E. Are you tired?

M.E. (i) You are tired or not?

(ii) You are tired, yes or not?

The basilectal M.E. "ah" enclitic still does duty for these "yes or not" mesolectal tags. Thus we have:

He can swim, ah?/He can't swim, ah?

You are tired, ah?/You are not tired, ah?

where for both positive as well as negative declaratives, the appended enclitic is "ah?"

ANALOGY WITH B.M.

The use of the "yes or not" and "or not" tags can be

seen as being similar to one of the B.M. interrogative constructions:

B.M. Dia pergi atau tidak?

He go or not

M.E. He went or not?

B.E. Did he go? (or not?)

From here we also get (only in spoken language though)

B.M. Dia pergi, ya tak?

He go, yes not

M.E. He went, yes or not?

B.E. He went; didn't he?

Here in B.M. there is ellipsis of the "or" element (atau) plus truncation of the negative element (i.e. tidak → tak) along with the addition of the positive element (i.e. ya), meaning "yes". Going one step further, as Nik Safiah too points out (Nik Safiah, 1978:212) the element "or" (atau) undergoes deletion and "tidak" is replaced by its truncated colloquial form "tak" giving:

B.M. Dia pergi, tak?

He go not?

M.E. He went, ah?

although she too admits that "this is a pattern with a high frequency of occurrence in the spoken variety of the language but is hardly suitable for formal and scientific language use".

TAMIL INFLUENCE

As far as any influence from Tamil goes, one can trace at least the basilectal M.E. interrogative tag "ah?" to the interrogative suffix "a:" in Tamil. In Tamil, this suffix can be affixed to all word classes depending on which word the thematic focus lies on. For example, from the declarative:

Tamil	/ʌvən	pu:nei ^{jei}	pidiθa:n/
	He	cat (acc suffix)	caught

We can have the following interrogatives:

(i)	/ʌvən	pu:nei ^{jei}	pidiθa: <u>na:?</u> /
	He	cat	caught (int. suffix)

B.E. Did he catch the cat? (or did he do something else with it - maybe just chased it, etc.)

(ii) /Avən pu: neijeia: pidi a:n?/
He cat (int. suffix) caught

B.E. Did he catch the cat? (or was it something else that he caught?)

(iii) /Avəna: pu: neijei pidi a:n?/
He (int. suffix) cat caught

B.E. Did he catch the cat? (or was it someone else who caught the cat?)

In any case, besides the fact that the "a:" suffix in Tamil is attached to the word on which the interrogative theme is focussed, the point still holds that it is used for a Yes - No Interrogative where the answer would be either a Yes or a No, with or without any further explanatory phrases or clause. This feature seems to permeate the basilectal M.E. interrogative in final position, giving examples like:

"You can come, ah?" for the B.E.

"Can you come?"

WH-IMPERATIVES/"CAN OR NOT"? TAG

Before discussing the wh-imperatives like "Will you give me a hand, please?", it would be expedient to consider one other tag "can or not?" which is used in M.E. as in the following examples:

PERMISSION SEEKING:

- M.E. I (want to) stay here, can or not?
B.E. Can I stay here? (Am I allowed/permitted to stay here?)

ABILITY CONFIRMING:

- M.E. She must bring her documents by next week, can or not?
B.E. Can she bring her documents by next week?
(Is she able to produce her documents by next week?)

VOLITION ASSESSING

- M.E. You (will) help me, can or not?
(can)
(Similar to "You can help me or not?")
B.E. Will you (please) help me?
(Are you willing to help me?)

Thus in M.E., this tag has three basic meanings:

- (i) permission seeking

- (ii) ability/possibility confirming
- (iii) volition assessing,

out of which the third can be said to be a variant of the B.E.
wh-imperative seen in:

- B.E. Will you help me, please?
- M.E. You (can/will) help me, can or not?
- B.E. Will you please show me the way?
- M.E. You (can/will) show me the way, can or not?

As for the wh-imperatives per se, there are two possibilities in M.E. (along with the above tag):

- B.E. Will you please help me?
- M.E. (i) (You) can/will help me or not?
(ii) You (can) help me, can or not?
- B.E. Will you carry these for me, please?
- M.E. (i) (You) can/will carry these for me or not?
(ii) You (can) carry these for me, can or not?
- B.E. Will you please show me the way?
- M.E. (i) (You) can show me the way or not?
(ii) You (can) show me the way, can or not?

Where examples (i) are concerned, the subject "you" is optional, so that the imperative interrogative takes a slight rising tone on "not" with an interrogative intonation. If the word, "please" needs to be put in, it can occur most often sentence initially although sentence - final position is not totally absent, so that we have:

M.E. Please, (you) can help me or not? or (You)
 can help me or not, please?

As for examples (ii) the auxiliary "can" is optional although the more frequent form is without the auxiliary in the matrix - hence:

You help me, can or not?
You carry these for me, can or not?
You show^{me} the way, can or not?

for the B.E.

Will you please help me?
Will you carry these for me?
Will you show me the way?

EMBEDDED YES - NO INTERROGATIVES

The embedded yes - no interrogatives in M.E. have the same characteristic feature with the tag "or not" appended at

the end, these tags belonging, therefore, to the subordinate clause. Thus the B.E. interrogatives with "whether/if" will have their M.E. equivalents in the following manner:

B.E. I wonder whether/if they are coming

M.E. I wonder whether/if they are coming or not?

B.E. Nobody knows whether/if she is there

M.E. Nobody knows whether/if she is there or not?

B.E. They were speculating whether/if he will pass

M.E. They were speculating whether/if he will pass or not?

"ISN'T IT/IS IT" TAGS

From here, we can trace the next type of interrogative tag in M.E., the "isn't it?" or "is it?" tag. In M.E., the system of interrogative tags is reduced to just one entailing either one of the above tags - i.e. in M.E., tag questions ("reduced polar interrogatives" - Hudson, 1975:23) have only the "isn't it/is it?" tag. They are somewhat like "response promoters" (Quirk, 1985), in that they prompt a response from the addressee, regardless of factors like reversed or constant polarity. For e.g.

(i) B.E. She wants ten dollars, doesn't she?

M.E. She wants ten dollars, isn't it?

(ii) B.E. You can't drive, can you?

M.E. You can't drive, isn't it?

(iii) B.E. He will post it today, will he?

M.E. He will post it today, is it?

(iv) B.E. She hasn't finished, hasn't she?

M.E. She hasn't finished, is it?

It will be seen therefore, that in M.E., unlike interrogative tags in B.E., polarity differences between declarative and tag are insignificant to the meaning. However, like in B.E. where there is a difference between the implications of a reversed polarity utterance (Lyon's "checking tags", 1977:764) and a constant polarity utterance (Sinclair's "copy tags", 1972:75), M.E. seems to have the "isn't it" tag for the B.E. reversed polarity interrogative [as in egs (i) and (ii)] whilst "is it" seems to take the function of the B.E. constant polarity interrogative [as in egs (iii) and (iv)].

The B.E. reversed polarity tag serves to show that

"the speaker thinks the proposition is true, but wants the hearer to confirm it. But it isn't necessary for the speaker to be uncertain about the truth of the proposition" (Hudson, 1975:26). Hence Hudson's examples of

"Caterpillars have legs, don't they?"

and "Caterpillars don't have legs, do they?"

are matched with the B.E. simple interrogatives

"Don't caterpillars have legs?"

and "Do caterpillars have legs?" respectively

The M.E. equivalent for such confirmation - seeking propositions seems to be the "isn't it" tag. Hence we can have:

"Caterpillars have legs, isn't it?"

and "Caterpillars don't have legs, isn't it?"

Other such examples are:

B.E. She can't swim, can she?

M.E. She can't swim, isn't it?

B.E. She can swim, can't she?

M.E. She can swim, isn't it?

B.E. They will arrive tonight, won't they?

M.E. They will arrive tonight, isn't it?

B.E. They won't arrive tonight, will they?

M.E. They won't arrive tonight, isn't it?

Constant-polarity tags, on the other hand, are those where "the declarative says that the speaker believes the proposition is true, then the interrogative says that he believes the hearer knows at least as well as the speaker whether this is right. The function of these tags seems to be simply that of showing that the speaker isn't trying to tell the hearer anything, but rather is expressing shared beliefs" (Hudson, 1975:27). Thus the following examples:

"Caterpillars have legs, do they?"

and "Caterpillars don't have legs, don't they?"

are equivalent in meaning, in B.E., to

"Do caterpillars have legs?"

and "Don't caterpillars have legs?"

The M.E. equivalent of such constant-polarity tags is the "is it" tag as in:

Caterpillars have legs, is it?

Caterpillars don't have legs, is it?

Likewise, the other examples:

B.E. She can't swim, can't she?

M.E. She can't swim, is it?

B.E. They will arrive tonight, will they?

M.E. They will arrive tonight, is it?

Symbiotic to the polar interrogatives is the question of their intonation. However, as intonation and its effects are implicative of semantic as well as pragmatic considerations, it must be difficult to formulate formal conditions or restrictions with regard to such interrogatives. Thus in B.E. itself, the effects of the various intonation patterns "are complex and to some extent controversial" (Lyons, 1977:765). In M.E. too, there seem to be no strict demarcative rules regarding such interrogatives and intonation - perhaps due to the paucity of research in this area in M.E. This being so, it would be

expedient to leave the question of intonation here for further research.

ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVES

As for the alternative interrogatives ("marked disjunctives" - Huddleston, 1984:368), the same characteristic of word-order is the differing feature here in M.E. (as in the wh-int. and the yes-no int.), in comparison with B.E. Hence where in B.E. there is an operator before the subject, in M.E. no such operator or inversion occurs, as seen in the following examples:

B.E. Was he tall or short?

M.E. He was tall or short?

B.E. Did he buy a BMW or a Merc?

M.E. He bought a BMW or a Merc?

B.E. Has she grown fatter or thinner?

M.E. She has grown fatter or thinner?

B.E. Are they Christians or Hindus?

M.E. They are Christians or Hindus?

B.E. Can she play the piano or violin?

M.E. She can play the piano or violin?

INDIRECT ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVES:

As for indirect alternative interrogatives, in B.E. itself, there is no operator inversion. Hence the M.E. equivalent would not be any different from its direct interrogative as well as the indirect B.E. one, some examples being:

B.E. I wonder if she is for Labour or Conservative?

M.E. I wonder if she is for Labour or Conservative? .

Direct Alternative Interrogatives

Indirect Alternative Interrogatives

B.E. Are they singing or dancing tonight?

I wonder whether they are singing or dancing tonight.

M.E. They are singing or dancing tonight?

I wonder whether they are singing or dancing tonight.

B.E. Does she prefer coffee or tea?

He can't tell if she prefers coffee or tea?

M.E. She prefers coffee or tea?

He can't tell if she prefers coffee or tea?

B.E. Can he type or write?

I don't know if he can type or write?

M.E. He can type or write?

I don't know if he can type or write?

SUBJECT INVERSION IN DECLARATIVES

As for subject-inversion in declaratives, the two types that will be discussed are the initially negated declaratives and the declaratives with adverbs like "only" or degree adverbs like "so".

INITIALLY NEGATED DECLARATIVES

Taking the initially negated declaratives, in B.E. there are declaratives which have the negative element or phrase in initial position for focus - i.e. which take "thematic fronting". Hence such clausal negation as obtained in normal declaratives like the following:

- (i) He was never so happy
- (ii) She was not once afraid

are given thematic fronting where the negative element is brought to initial position giving:

- (iii) Never was he so happy
- (iv) Not once was she afraid

Thus where in (i) and (ii) we get an S V word - order, in (iii), and (iv) the word - order is V S. Huddleston (1984:423)

explains the difference between clausal and sub-clausal negation in such declaratives and clarifies that where clausal negation requires a VS order (subject inversion), sub-clausal negation does not, with the examples of the following two negative declaratives:

(a) Clausal Negation:

She had had complete faith in no man

(b) Sub-clausal Negation

She had solved the problem in no time

He says; "if we apply the process of thematic fronting to the final prepositional phrase, we find that in (a) but not (b) it requires the operator and subject order" (VS order)

Hence

(a) In no man had she had complete faith

(b) In no time she had solved the problem

This important syntactic distinction between clausal and sub-clausal negation in terms of thematic fronting is not

maintained in M.E.

In M.E. whether the negation is a clausal or sub-clausal one, when the negative element is fronted to initial position - even though this is not regularly found in speech or writing - the same S V order is maintained. Hence we get:

B.E. Never was she so happy

M.E. Never she was so happy

B.E. Not once was he afraid

M.E. Not once he was afraid

B.E. Never before were they victims

M.E. Never before they were victims

B.E. No longer is he working here

M.E. No longer he is working here

B.E. No more will I believe her

M.E. No more I will believe her

B.E. Never again can she use my car

M.E. Never again she can use my car

B.E. To no one will they tell the secret

M.E. To no one they will tell the secret

It will be noticed that the non-auxiliary "be" in these M.E. examples can take the normal S V order whereas in the interrogatives (discussed earlier) it was the only case in the M.E. interrogatives which had subject inversion (V S word - order).

ADVERBIALY FRONTED DECLARATIVES

The other declarative that has the V S order in B.E. is the declarative "where the fronted phrase is introduced by "only" or the degree adverb "so" etc" (Huddleston, 1984:423) as in:

B.E. Only then did she think of her mother's advice

So severe was the shock that her hearing was impaired

In M.E. here again, there is no subject inversion as thematic fronting is often replaced by mere stress or intonational emphasis, as in:

- M.E. Only then she thought of her mother's advice
So severe the shock was that her hearing was
impaired

Likewise other examples (Huddleston's, 1984:423)

- B.E. Only then did I realise my mistake

- M.E. Only then I realised my mistake

- B.E. So persistent was he that we finally gave in

- M.E. So persistent he was that we finally gave in

The same can be said of declaratives with adverbials
that are negative in meaning but not in form: (Quirk's
examples) (Quirk 1985:778)

- B.E. Rarely does crime pay so well as many think

- M.E. Rarely crime pays so well as many think

- B.E. Scarcely ever has the British Nation
suffered so much obloquy

- M.E. Scarcely ever the British Nation has
suffered so much obloquy

B.E. Little did I expect such enthusiasm from so
many

M.E. Little I expected such enthusiasm from so
many

COPULA ELLIPSIS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF VARIATION

As has been stated earlier, basilectal M.E. has a tendency to ellipit the copula in both declaratives as well as interrogatives. Thus the examples like:

He my brother

They working there

My mother in Penang now

Platt, (1980:174) gives some examples, explaining how the verb "to be" is not always used before adjectives, predicate nominals, in adverbial constructions referring to location, and in auxiliary constructions such as "He is working".

e.g. Pre-Adjectival: Kelantan kain sarong very famous

(The kain sarongs from Kelantan are very famous)

Pre-predicate Nominal: The house two-storeys
building

(The house is a two-storey building)

Pre-locative: And my brother also in Kedah

(And my brother is also in Kedah)

Pre-Ving: Some of them working

(Some of them are working)

Irene Wong (in Noss 1983:133) quotes a few more examples:

e.g. When you leaving?
They two very good friends
Who your boss?
Why you so angry?

This tendency for copula ellipsis is an obvious influence from the substrate languages. B.M. for one has no verb "be" other than "ada" to show "there is" (presence of something), as in:

B.M. Ada dua ekor kucing di dalam peti itu
There are two tails (classifier) cats inside
box that
There are two cats in that box

But in sentences like "She is a tourist" or "She is crying", the verb "be" is not overtly manifested in B.M. Hence we get:

She is a tourist
Dia seorang pelancong
(classifier)

She is crying

Dia sedang menangis

In interrogatives too as stated earlier (in the section on interrogatives).

Where is she?

Mana(kah) dia?

Who is he?

Siapa(kah) dia?

What is she doing?

Apa(kah) dia sedang buat?

The same can be said of Tamil too, where the verb "be" is not overtly manifested, for example:

avel	en	thangai
------	----	---------

She	my	sister
-----	----	--------

avar	oru	a:ciriya:r
------	-----	------------

He	one (a)	teacher
----	---------	---------

aven	inru	varavillei
------	------	------------

He today not coming

averkel anthe palliyil padikirarkel
They that school (locative
 affix) studying

Just like B.M. there is one verbal root "iru" to show presence of something or someone ("there is") as in:

aven ka:ril irukkira:n
He in car is
(He is in the car)

avel vi:til iruppa:l
She in house will be
(She will be in the house)

averkel thottathil iruntarkel
They in garden were
(They were in the garden)

It will be realised that the above examples contain "be" with a locative. Similarly for "be" with adjectives, "iru" can be used:

anthe	marem	uyarama:ke	irukkirathu
That	tree tall		is
(That tree is tall)			

avel	alaka: ke	irukkira:l
She	beautiful	is
(She is beautiful)		

But where the NP is concerned, "be" is not represented by the verb "iru". Thus there is no specific verb "be" in examples like:

athu	oru	putthaham
that	one (a)	book
(That is a book)		

aven	oru	vetan
He	one (a)	hunter
(He is a hunter)		

This absence of "be" in Tamil is carried into interrogatives as well, as seen in the earlier section:

avel	enge?
She	where?
(Where is	she?)

aven	enna	padikira:n?
He	what	studying?
(What is he studying?)		

OTHER CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES

Besides the ellipsis of the copula, there are quite a number of other aspects of variation in M.E., some of which are evident in mesolectal and basilectal M.E., whilst some are predominant in basilectal M.E. alone. However, due to constraints of time, they will only be mentioned here, leaving room for further research to be done on them. The existing attempts at describing some of them still need a more detailed and thorough approach - perhaps on a more linguistically-orientated scale.

One of these differences from B.E. is pronoun-copying (Bickerton, 1976), when the subject of the sentence is stated first as a noun and then repeated in the sentence in pronominalized form, to achieve focus:

e.g. That fellow there, he thinks he is the Prime Minister of Malaysia

Most people, they come to this shop only

Some tourists, they like to eat in Medan

Her sister, she is the cause of all the worry

However it should be noted that this is also widespread in non-standard B.E.

Another feature peculiar to M.E. is pronoun ellipsis, where the object pronoun is omitted:

e.g. If you like, you must buy

That's a good suggestion, I will follow up

She booked her ticket, but later forgot to cancel

The population problem is universal but most people accept

They said they would appreciate, if we come early

He couldn't complete his essay, so he asked her to write for him

Make sure you study hard otherwise you may regret later

Have you taken your medicine? Yes, I have taken

Do remind her will you? Of course, I will remind

(Remind her, can or not?)

(Remind her,/okay?)

Other features are:

Adverbial Positioning

- e.g. You must order today all your books
 He must study the situation really
 I like very much theatre but prefer even better
 concerts or opera
 Indrani is highly an intelligent girl
 It is grossly a mistaken notion
 Ismail is not telling the truth definitely

Ellipsis of Expletive "It/There"

- e.g. No use advising him
 Useless trying to contact her now
 Too many obstacles in the way, so no point proceeding

Substitution of "There + be" with existential/locative "Got"

- e.g. Got not enough evidence for the case.

Got many kinds of people in this world

Got all sorts of food at Medan Selera

Grammatical Particles

These are particles characteristically Malaysian which stand for a range of functions normally represented by intonational variation as well as grammatical structures in B.E. Some examples are:

What: I told you what, you didn't believe me

(Don't you remember I told you)

(Can't you recall that I told you?)

(Aren't you convinced that I told you?)

She came here what, can't remember, ah?

(I am telling you she came here, don't you remember?)

(Can't you recall that she came here?)

(Aren't you convinced that she came here?)

Yes what, she came here yesterday

(I'm confirming and affirming that she came here yesterday)

(Don't you believe me that she came here yesterday?)

Man He won't reach Ipoh tonight, man, how can?
(I'm convinced he won't reach Ipoh tonight -
considering the circumstances he's in)
She refuses to get out of the car, man, what
am I to do?
(I'm trying to convince you that she won't
get out of the car - do you get the message?)

One She very sombong/proud, one
(She is a very proud character)
He started throwing stones first, one
(He is the one who first started throwing
stones)

Lah They not Malaysians lah, they Singaporean one
(For heaven's sake, they're not Malaysians;
they are all Singaporeans)
Don't be lazy lah, please carry this for me
(I am pleading with you not to be too lazy)

The commonest particles are "what", "man"; "one" and
"lah" the last of which is perhaps most typically Malaysian.
It has been described in various terms by many - Mary Tay (in
Crewe, 1977:155) describes it as a "code-mark: to mark that the

speech act is one involving dimensions of informality, familiarity, solidarity and rapport between participants"

However there are certain intonational patterns with which these particles are used in M.E. speech - which makes them all the more difficult to carry into formal or standard English. The confines of usage of such particles are really undefinable although they are clearly used only in informal speech - with their functional load effectively transmitted among the speakers.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The various features in the syntax of Malaysian English (M.E.) described in the preceding chapters serve to show that there is a second language variety that is systematic in its own way. Contrary to being regarded as a manifestation of learning errors or an unsuccessful approximation of the target language, such second language characteristics, therefore, warrant a descriptive rather than a prescriptive approach. It is true that many of the differences between M.E. and Standard British English (S.B.E. or B.E.) can be explained as the result of influence from the substrate languages, especially Bahasa Malaysia (B.M.), but this fact in itself does not show that M.E. is inferior to B.E. On the contrary, this influence indicates that there is, and has been, an adaptation process whereby the exonormative model has been made accessible to the Malaysian learner. This has taken place at various linguistic and sociolinguistic levels, thus resulting in an endonormative model. This seems apparent in other non-native varieties as well viz. Indian English, African English and Filipino English.

The three characteristic elements in the Noun Phrase of Malaysian English discussed in the second chapter show that there isn't just a random simplification process that is entailed but a specific system. For example, in the section on

article ellipsis, we note that such ellipsis does not just occur before any nouns as such, but abstract nouns in particular, and from there, not just abstract nouns generally, but only those that are modified. In other words, the modifier before the abstract noun stands to replace the determiner status of the ellipped article, as seen in examples such as:

Did you get mileage-claim for that trip?

Finance companies effected drastic increase in interest rates this year.

Main reason for their poor performance was frequent absence from classes.

The only other exception to this rule is the concrete noun when it is used as an institutionalized noun in predicate position, as seen in the following examples:

She is trend-setter of the class.

He was most popular prefect last year.

He is drug addict.

Such article ellipsis before modified abstract nouns could be considered a carry-over from Bahasa Malaysia - the main substrate language in consideration, where there is no

article system operant (whilst numeral quantification of concrete nouns is by cardinal determiners with classifiers). Hence the absence of articles before abstract nouns in Malaysian English, on lines of analogy from Bahasa Malaysia, as seen in examples such as:

B.M. Apakah keadaan tentang perkara itu?

(What (int) situation regarding topic that)

B.E. What is the situation regarding that topic?

B.M. Penghasilan motokar sekarang diberi keutamaan

(Production motor-cars now given priority)

B.E. The production of motor-cars is now given priority

In the section on pronominal concord, where there is a singular/plural distinction for living (non-human) nouns, there is no number distinction for non-living nouns. The same is true of B.M., where there is only one pronoun 'ia' for living (non-human) as well as non-living nouns, both plural and singular. The following M.E. examples would be representative:

Those books are very informative. It can be obtained at Dillon's.

The houses on Travers Road are UDA houses. It caters for the Division 'B' employees of the Malayan Railways.

Rahman bought three ball-pens from the Co-op. but forgot and left it on the cash desk.

The partial influence from B.M. can be postulated from examples like the following, (in B.M.):

Surat-surat itu baru sampai - mungkin ia dari ayah saya

(Letters those just arrived - must be it from father my)

Those letters have just arrived - they must be from my father.

Baju siapa semua itu? Ia sangat cantik.

(Clothes whose all those? It very pretty).

Whose clothes are those? They are very pretty.

Ada dua ekor anak kucing di dalam longkang itu - ia semua berwarna putih.

(Are two (cl.) kittens in drain that - it all coloured white)

There are two kittens in that drain - they are all coloured white.

As for individuation in M.E., where there is pluralisation of mass/collective nouns, the process of simplification is obtained purely due to either the reduction of "unit nouns" (also known as classifiers in B.M.) within M.E. itself, whilst in B.E. such nouns are quantifiable via these unit nouns, giving such examples as in the sentences below:

M.E. How many staffs are on medical leave?

B.E. How many members of staff are on medical leave?

M.E. She bought three lingeries at Mark's today.

B.E. She bought three pieces of lingerie at Mark's today.

or by random pluralising of such mass nouns, as seen in:

M.E. She cleared all her paraphernalias out of the way.

B.E. She cleared all her paraphernalia out of the way.

M.E. There were no suitable accomodations for them.

B.E. There was no suitable accomodation for them.

Some element of analogy within English itself can be postulated where such examples like jewellery (jewelleries - M.E.) and stationery (stationeries - M.E.) are pluralised on lines similar to pottery (potteries - B.E.) and grocery (groceries - B.E.) Coupled with that another analogous situation is seen in the composite members of these mass nouns as well - viz. furnitures - from tables, chairs, beds; fruits - from apples, pears, bananas.

As for the Verb Phrase itself, the three features in M.E. discussed in the third chapter are Temporal Distance (remoteness distinctions of tense), the reduced Modal Verb system and Stative Verbs in the Progressive.

Tense in M.E. is shown to be determined by temporal distance from the deictic centre. The concepts of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority seem to lend to this conceptual framework where

(i) events past are considered anterior to the deictic centre - with three degrees of remoteness viz.

(a) immediate past - I ate (was eating) rice this morning.

(b) recent past - I have eaten (have been eating) rice yesterday.

(c) remote past - I had eaten (had been eating) rice last month.

(ii) events present are considered simultaneous to the deictic centre - thus with no degree of remoteness involved, viz.

I eat (am eating) rice now.

(iii) events future are considered posterior to the deictic centre - with two degrees of remoteness, viz.

(a) immediate future - I will eat (will be eating) rice tonight.

(b) remote/distant future - I would eat (would be eating) rice tomorrow.

Such a system seems to be independent of any influence from B.M. where although there is differentiation of temporal orientation in terms of anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority (in its aspectual verbs), there is no deictic tense marking involved. Further, there is no tense marking in its lexical verbs either, as seen in the following examples:

M.E. I ate rice this morning.

B.M. Saya makan nasi pagi tadi.

M.E. I have eaten rice yesterday.

B.M. Saya sudah makan nasi semalam.

M.E. I had eaten rice last month.

B.M. Saya sudah makan nasi bulan lalu.

M.E. I eat rice now.

B.M. Saya makan nasi sekarang.

M.E. I will eat rice tonight.

B.M. Saya akan makan nasi malam ini.

M.E. I would eat rice tomorrow.

B.M. Saya akan makan nasi esok.

Hence in B.M. where the aspectual verbs like sudah, sedang and akan, show anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority respectively from the deictic centre (in both main and subordinate clauses), the lexical verbs are not marked for tense (e.g. makan - eat - used for all cases), whilst temporal adverbs like semalam (yesterday), sekarang (now) or esok (tomorrow) show the temporal orientation of the clause.

As for the modals in M.E., the simplified system can be summarised as follows:

CAN	- permission, ability
COULD	- past tense of the above meanings
MAY	- possibility
WILL	- immediate futurity (\pm volition)
WOULD	- distant/remote futurity (\pm volition)
SHOULD	- obligation, necessity
MUST	- compulsion, obligation, necessity

Such a system may be considered similar to the narrow-ranged modal system in B.M. as well:

HENDAK, MAHU, INGIN	- volition
ENGKAN	- weak/negative volition (reluctance)
HARUS, WAJIB, MESTI	- compulsion
PERLU	- obligation, necessity
BOLEH, DAPAT	- ability, permission
MUNGKIN	- possibility, probability

or it can be viewed as a purely straight forward reduction of the system for simplification, so that there is no ambivalence of meaning.

The third characteristic feature in the Verb Phrase is the occurrence of some of the Stative Verbs in the Progressive, where in B.E. such verbs do not occur in the progressive. These are the relational verbs and verbs of inert perception and cognition, such as:

M.E. That bottle is containing sulphuric acid.

B.E. That bottle contains sulphuric acid.

M.E. I am smelling curry in this room.

B.E. I smell curry in this room.

M.E. She is owning two luxury apartments.

B.E. She owns two luxury apartments.

M.E. They are thinking they are in the right.

B.E. They think they are in the right.

M.E. I am seeing my daughter running towards me.

B.E. I see my daughter running towards me.

Apart from the fact that in B.E. itself there is a possible source of overgeneralisation (into M.E.) viz. the Verbs of Bodily Sensation that can occur in the Progressive (as

in "My back is aching" or "My foot is hurting"), in B.M. too, there is the influencing factor when relational verbs like contain and own can occur optionally with the equivalent V - ing form (although this is not heard very frequently). Coupled with these, the fact that within B.E., there are also some stative verbs occurring in the Progressive (but with change in meaning), allows the emergence of stative verbs in the Progressive in M.E.

The fourth chapter on Clause Structure accounts for interrogative clausal features, declarative clausal features and copula ellipsis along with a quick summary of other characteristic M.E. features which would require further research.

Among the main features characteristic to interrogative clauses is that of no inversion in the WH - interrogative, as the auxiliary does not become operator in all cases, except with the non-auxiliary "be" in M.E. (in both direct and indirect interrogatives), hence giving examples like:

M.E. What we have here?

B.E. What have we here?

M.E. Where they are going?

B.E. Where are they going?

M.E. How they will come home?

B.E. How will they come home?

M.E. I wonder where is she?

B.E. I wonder where she is?

The fact that the non-auxiliary "be" is the only verb that takes operator status when occurring in the interrogative (both direct and indirect) may be a hypercorrective device, when compared to the situation in B.M. where there is no copula as such at all.

For example: Mereka tinggikah?

(Are) they tall?

(This absence is also transferred to basilectal M.E. where the copula is ellipted, giving examples like:

Where she?

What they talking?

Why he crying?)

The wh - element in the M.E. interrogative can also occur in sentence-final position, as seen in:

He is where?

They are going how?

She is doing what?

Again, this could be a transfer from B.M. where we can have:

Mereka pergi ke mana?

(They go where?)

Dia menangis kenapa?

(She cry why?)

Another interesting feature of M.E. interrogative clauses is the yes or not and or not tags used to mark Yes-no interrogatives. Thus the two variant tags are used as seen below:

B.E. Can she sing?

M.E. She can sing or not?

She can sing, yes or not?

B.E. Are you hungry?

M.E. You are hungry or not?

You are hungry, yes or not?

A possible source of influence for this tag system could be the B.M. interrogative construction in:

B.M. Dia makan atau tidak?

M.E. He (eat)ate or not?

B.E. Did he eat?

B.M. Dia makan, ya tak?

M.E. He ate, yes or not?

B.E. He ate, didn't he?

The M.E. basilectal tag in similar vein is the clitic ah? which seems to suggest strong Tamil influence, as seen in

M.E. He ate, ah?

She came late, ah?

They are leaving, ah?

In Tamil, the interrogative suffix a:? is affixed to all word classes depending on which word the thematic interrogative focus lies on. Hence, we can have:

Tamil: Aven choru cha:pita:na:?
 (He rice ate (int.suffix?)
 Did he eat rice? (or did he just cook it).

Aven chora: cha:pita:n?
 (He rice (int suffix) ate?)
 Did he eat rice? (or something else?)

Avena: choru cha:pita:n?
 (He (int. suffix) rice ate)
 Did he eat rice? (or was it someone else?)

Another interrogative tag that is often used in M.E.
is the can or not? tag with the functions of:

(i) Seeking permission:

M.E. I want to come, can or not?

B.E. Can I come?

(ii) Confirming ability:

M.E. They must submit the forms tomorrow, can or not?

B.E. Can they submit the forms tomorrow?

(iii) Assessing volition:

M.E. You carry this for me, can or not?

B.E. Will you carry this for me?

The third meaning can be considered the M.E. form of the B.E. wh - imperative, as in:

B.E. Will you do the washing today?

M.E. You do the washing today, can or not?

B.E. Will you (please) stand guarantor for my application?

M.E. You stand guarantor for my application, can or not?

The similar wh - imperative can also be represented by the or not? tag in M.E., as in:

B.E. Will you do the washing today?

M.E. (You) can do the washing today or not?

B.E. Will you stand guarantor for my application?

M.E. (You) can stand guarantor for my application or not?

The isn't it/is it? tag is the next interesting feature in M.E. interrogatives where this is the only interrogative tag used for tag interrogatives (with isn't it? serving the function of B.E. reversed polarity tags, and is it? that of B.E. constant polarity tags, as in the examples below):

M.E. They are coming, isn't it?

B.E. They are coming, aren't they?

M.E. He can play the piano, is it?

B.E. He can play the piano, can be?

The alternative interrogatives in M.E. also have the same feature of the absence of operator (auxiliary verb) inversion:

M.E. They were fat or thin?

B.E. Were they fat or thin?

M.E. He likes red or white wine?

B.E. Does he like red or white wine?

The next interesting feature is where the declarative clause is concerned. The feature of word-order is again of

interest here, where specifically for the initially negated declarative and the adverbially fronted declarative there is no operator inversion.

M.E. Never he was so delighted.

B.E. Never was he so delighted.

M.E. Not once she could enter the building.

B.E. Not once could she enter the building.

M.E. Only then they remembered the warning.

B.E. Only then did they remember the warning.

M.E. Scarcely ever he has come here.

B.E. Scarcely ever has he come here.

The last section in Chapter four describes a bit of basilectal M.E. where there is the ellipsis of the copula - an obvious influence from the two substrate languages discussed - B.M. as well as Tamil, hence:

B.M. Apa itu?

M.E. (basilect) What that?

B.E. What is that?

Tamil:	Avel	oru	na:deki
	(She	one	actress)
M.E. (basilect)	She		actress
B.E.	She	is an	actress

Other mesolectal M.E. features that are interesting but still to be researched on are such elements as:

(i) Pronoun-copying:

My brother, he is an engineer.

Those books, which although they are expensive, are really useful.

(ii) Pronoun-ellipsis:

She wrote the letter but forgot to post.

Have you ordered for the cake? Yes I have ordered.

(iii) Adverbial-positioning:

They must admit immediately to the offence.

Sheila is not coming definitely.

(iv) Ellipsis of expletives it/there:

No point pursuing the matter further.

Too much of a problem bringing it, so I left it behind.

- (v) Substitution of "There + be" with existential/locative got:

Got no food in the fridge.

Got no electricity today.

- (vi) Grammatical particles:

Such particles are typically Malaysian and replace the various functions represented by intonational variation and grammatical structures in B.E., as in examples such as:

What: I mentioned it to you, what, the other day.

(Don't you remember that I mentioned it to you?)

(Aren't you convinced that I mentioned it to you?)

Man He isn't the school Captain, man, he is just a Prefect.

(Don't talk nonsense he's not the school Captain, just a Prefect).

One: She can't cope with that work, one.

(I'm definite she's the type who can't cope with that work).

Lah: Please lah, finish your work first.

(For heaven's sake, finish your work first).

Having summarised the distinctive formal features marking the syntax of M.E., it would be useful if some of the applied linguistic or sociolinguistic issues be addressed here. This would take into consideration the factors of the acceptability of Malaysian English, the choice of the instructional model and perspectives for the future.

A re-examination of some of the few Malaysian attempts at describing or discussing English as found in a second language context shows that there is definitely a general tendency towards recognizing an endonormative model as well as accepting it, especially on the phonological level. Whereas the exonormative model is considered as affected, the indigenized pronunciation, with a reduced suprasegmental pattern as well as simplified segmental manifestations, encourages an attitude of acceptance towards this variety within intra-national domains.

On the syntactic level, the profusion of such indigenization features as described in this thesis, enables an element of intra-national identity to evolve, where there is no loss of intelligibility. Thus if M.E. is to flourish as a non-native variety, the emergence of such syntactic elements as: "They are knowing that she's coming today" or "I have only

three furnitures in my room", can be predicted as being accepted not just intra-nationally but even inter-nationally (as M.E.) - since intelligibility is not lost and communication is not reduced or impaired.

Further, the use of typically Malaysian or localized features in the lexicon as well as for stylistic and creative purposes in the various literary genres in English, adds that much colour and variety to the local English scene. The descriptive linguist can, of course, only describe all these patterns of usage, but that is as far as his or her brief goes.

As far as formal instruction and the mass-media are concerned i.e. in formal contexts, it has been admitted that the exonormative model is not necessarily the goal. In fact, it is not considered desirable at all. However, as far as syntax or structure goes, the instructional materials for pedagogical purposes still have, as is true of any didactic situation, the exonormative model as target. Whether all circumstances lead to and achieve this target is another matter altogether. Thus local text-book and materials writers of English teaching/learning materials normally maintain the structural base of the native variety (Standard British English), although the socio-cultural ecology in which such

materials are set are definitely local. Coupled with the fact that the majority of English language teaching personnel are non-native speakers, themselves, (viz. Malaysians) the attempts to approximate the exonormative structure is not too likely to succeed (although it is prescribed in the instructional materials and provided for in curriculum development). In the urban areas, however, there is a level of English, spoken and written in formal contexts - this being the acrolect mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, although this does not preclude the mesolect occurring side by side here, depending on the sociolinguistic factors determining its use. But the fact still remains, as Kachru says of second language varieties in general, "that the attitudinal conflict between the indigenous and external norms is slowly being resolved in favour of localized educated norms. This move is motivated more by pragmatic considerations than by a desire for linguistic emancipation" (Kachru, 1986:25).

Likewise in the mass media, although the phonological features of the native variety (especially many of the suprasegmental ones) are not particularly advocated or used, the structural features are maintained in programmes of a formal context. In other non or semiformal vestiges however, viz. local drama in English, local dailies (non-editorial

works) or local cartoons etc, the structural aspects of M.E. are very often apparent and appreciated, since as I. Wong (in Noss, 1981:126) says: "Many Malaysians feel that this informal and colloquial variety of English belongs uniquely to them. They see it as intended purely for local and indigenized uses among themselves. They have felt freer, therefore, to adjust the language to their own needs and requirements. They have felt less free to do this with standard formal and written English".

Thus the viability of Malaysian English as an efficient mode of communication as well as the attitudinal awareness plus acceptance of such a mesolect, warrant the need for an international acknowledgement of such an English - since "tolerance is what we are referring to - we do not propose that the local standard forms should become right and the general standard forms should become wrong". (Tay and Gupta, in Noss, 1981:184).

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